







A SHORT HISTORY OF GERMANY

From the Earliest Times
to the Year 1913

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PREFACE

A concise survey of the history of Germany will, no doubt, be welcomed by many Americans, both those of German descent and affiliation and the many who are anxious to learn more about the past of the Teutons' Fatherland.

The present little volume is based on Guggenberger's "History of the Christian Era," which has been freely made use of by permission of the publisher. The chapters on the Reformation period are a summary of Johannes Janssen's masterly treatment of those times.

The author also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to his friend Mr. Joseph H. Praetz, L.L.B., for valuable assistance.

May the little work make friends throughout the length and breadth of our country and help towards creating a better understanding and appreciation of a people which has always proved a true friend of the United States.

July, 1915.

F. M. S.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF GERMANY

I

THE ANCIENT GERMANS

The territory extending from the Rhine to the Vistula, from the Alps to the North and Baltic Seas, was first called Germany (*Germania*) by the Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar, 59 B. C.

Now one of the most productive and fairest of European countries, at the time of the birth of Christ it was covered by marsh and forest land, sheltering birds of prey and infested with bears, wolves, aurochs, and boars. Lacking the most primitive developments of towns, roads, and bridges, and dissatisfied with the meagre forest fare, the inhabitants migrated and occupied the more cultivated lands of neighboring peoples. Centuries afterwards, the monks cleared large tracts of virgin forest and drained the swamp-lands, promoted agriculture and discouraged the wanderings of the tribes so that the people recognized the necessity of exchanging the uncertain abode of the nomad for the fixed habitation of the peasant.

The ancient Germans were fine types of men, warriors of big physique—all freemen and all equal, but united by a strong fraternal bond (*Germanus*, Latin for “a brother”) and always ready to defend their free institutions with the sword. War and the chase were their chief occupations and made for a constant and unyielding manhood with sturdy and bulky bodies, so that the warlike Romans, struck with fear and awe when first in the presence of the gigantic statures of the Germans, had to accustom their eyes before they would fight with them. Simplicity of manners and purity of morals combined with outdoor pursuits, endowed the ancient Germans with those qualities admired by the Romans and which have left their impress on many succeeding generations.

The dress was chiefly made of skins of animals with some of linen and wool, woven by the women. At first they lived in scattered huts, grouping tilled lands, meadows, and woodland around—a dozen or more neighboring farms forming a village, several villages making a “gau,” and many gaus composing the tribe; thus the tribe of the Ubii lived around *Cöln* (Cologne), the Treveri on the Moselle, and the Cherusci on the Weser.

The ancient Germans, preeminently a nation of freemen, compelled their prisoners of war with offspring to serve as farm-hands, and as serfs they en-

joyed no civil rights. The freemen alone could carry arms, acquire landed property, and participate in the assembly held at appointed times in which the affairs of the village or gau were discussed and ordered, and infractions of the rules of conduct adjudged and punishment decreed.

All freemen capable of bearing arms were liable to military service, and when not so engaged, the chase was their favorite pastime. The leader of the army of freemen, called *Heerbann*, was a duke (*Herzog*); he was elected by the popular assembly. The arms most in use were the spear, used for hand-to-hand combat and for attack, the sword, and the broad arrow. For defence, a wooden shield was usually carried, very few warriors using mail or helmet.

The ancient Teutons excelled in loyalty to kin, tribe, and chieftain, in hospitality, and love of freedom. In the midst of all dangers they stood loyally by their chosen leader. Treason and cowardice were considered the greatest of crimes, punishable by death. A German's word was as good as his bond — once plighted it was held inviolably sacred. The door of even the humblest hut was open to the stranger. He found a welcome place at the family board. If the host himself lacked the means of hospitality, he would lead him to a more fortunate neighbor, where both were assured of a friendly wel-

come. The distinguishing trait, however, was love of freedom, and to be free men, their greatest pride. The lustre of these virtues was, however, dimmed by two serious failings, drinking and gambling. When not employed in the chase or in war, they would remain inactive for days, held by an unconquerable aversion for all peaceable labor. Whiling away leisure hours with drinking bouts, they frequently indulged to excess their fondness for mead, in the intervals playing dice and hazarding in passionate play their very means of subsistence, their wealth, and even wife and children.

In religion the pagan ideas about venerating various gods and goddesses prevailed. *Wuotan* (Wodan), one-eyed, was considered the supreme god, the bestower of victory and god of warlike valor. *Donar* was the god of thunder and the strongest son of Wuotan and his mother Earth. He held dominion over the winds and rain. The goddess *Freya* was invoked to give and preserve domestic happiness. The days of the week were sacred to the deities — Sunday was called Wodensday and sacred to Wodan; Thursday was sacred to Donar and to this day is called *Donnerstag* in the German language; Friday was the goddess Freya's day. The concepts of the gods and goddesses, as above outlined, corresponded to all the ancient beliefs about such matters in that gods were designated for virtues

and vices, etc. ; there are, however, traces which show that the original belief in one God was not entirely lost, and the name of God, used without the article, and signifying a being all-present and all-powerful, is found in all the Teutonic dialects. But, from a feeling of awe, the name was rarely pronounced.

The ancient Germans did not worship their gods in temples. They fancied that on the summit of a high mountain or in the recesses of the densest forest all sacrifices to their gods should be offered up, and there, at the same time, all feasts and banquets were held. Theirs was also a firm belief in a hereafter. Whatever seemed to each to be the height of pleasure here on earth, was hoped for hereafter in Walhalla. Those fallen in battle were conducted by Valkyries to Wodan in the Himmelsburg, there to continue their earthly existence in a glorified state. By day these heroes delighted in the chase and war contests, the wounds which were received being healed at night as if by magic. Reconciled, the heroes would sit down at the feast and drink mead out of the horns of the aurochs. The next morning they would rise whole and refreshed to start the bloody sport anew.

II

THE CONTACT WITH THE ROMANS

Historical records account for the German people back to the second century before the birth of Christ, when the Romans first came in conflict with them. There is evidence that long before that time communication had been established between the Germans and southern civilization, and while it is an historical fact that occasionally travellers from the Mediterranean had made their way into the regions beyond the Alps, hardly any records of their journeys are extant.

It is said that the first Germans to encounter the Romans were the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, probably coming from Denmark and appearing on the frontiers of Gaul, B.C. 113. These people were of gigantic stature, with long flaxen hair and large blue eyes. They decisively defeated the Romans in several battles, and Gaul lay open before them without defence, for victory had forsaken the Roman eagle and Rome, amazed and helpless, seemed doomed to conquest. Fortunately for the Romans, the German tribes suddenly abandoned their threatened invasion

of Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees and poured into Spain, with which nation they waged a futile war of three years' duration. Meanwhile the Romans seized the unexpected opportunity and made ready for defence. On their return the Cimbri and Teutones were defeated by the Roman general Marius, who had strongly entrenched himself with a new army on the Rhone. When Julius Cæsar was appointed governor of Gaul (59 B.C.), the westernmost part of what is now Germany was in the hands of various Gallic tribes. The Rhine practically formed the boundary between Gallia and Germania, though one Gallic tribe, the Menapii, is said to have occupied territory beyond the Rhine at its mouth. Shortly before the arrival of Cæsar an invading force of Germans had even seized and settled down in what is now Alsace (72 B.C.). At this time the Gauls were being pressed by the Germans along the whole frontier, and several of Cæsar's campaigns were operations either against the Germans or against Gallic tribes set in motion by the Germans. In 58 B.C. Ariovistus, King of the powerful Germanic tribe of the *Suevi*, who had crossed the Rhine and subdued the greater part of eastern Gaul, was defeated by Cæsar and driven back across the river. After defeating the *Usipetes* and *Tencteri* and driving them beyond the Rhine, Cæsar himself crossed that river, but effected no permanent settlement. The whole of

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Gaul, however, as far as the Rhine, became a Roman province.

The civil wars raging in Rome diverted the attention of the Romans from Germany. Meantime several German tribes made inroads into Gaul with impunity. After peace had been established in Italy, Augustus, the first Roman emperor, himself hastened to the Rhine, erected fortifications along the bank of this river to check the progress of the enemy, and gave his valiant stepson Nero Claudius Drusus the chief command against them. In the year 12 B.C. this great military leader annexed what is now Holland, crossed the Weser, and advanced as far as the Elbe, receiving the homage and submission of several petty tribes. After his death, his brother Tiberius invaded the country of the Usipetes and Tencteri, whom he subdued and threatened with extermination unless they persuaded the Sicambri to yield. Upon this the chiefs of the Sicambri were sent to negotiate peace, but were treacherously seized by Tiberius, who suddenly attacked and subdued the whole tribe. Tiberius did not continue to commit these acts of violence and treachery, but sought to gain the confidence of the Germans by peaceable means. Sentius, who was afterwards prefect of the Rhine, treated the people with such humanity that they voluntarily adopted the customs and acquired the useful arts of the Romans. But P. Quinctilius

Varus, Sentius's successor, soon began to tyrannize over the German tribes by rigorously enforcing the Roman laws and beating and executing free-born men. This was a thing unheard of by the liberty-loving Germans, and a bitter hatred against the oppressor took root in their hearts.

III

ARMINIUS, THE LIBERATOR

At the time of the oppression of the Germans by Varus, an athletic youth, named Arminius (Herman), returned to his country. He was the son of a Cheruscan chief and had been taken to Rome as a hostage. There he had served in the Roman army and become skilled in the art of warfare. As a reward for his excellent services the Romans had bestowed upon him the honors of knighthood. In spite of the distinction gained at Rome, he had remained loyal to his German tribe. Gifted with eloquence and animated by an enthusiastic love of liberty, he appeared among his disheartened countrymen who were groaning under the yoke of slavery and longing for liberty. In secret he united himself with the chiefs of several tribes and with them planned the deliverance of their country from Roman rule. But in order to destroy the Romans, who were numerous and strong, he was forced to have recourse to a ruse. By the prearranged sedition of a distant tribe, Varus was lured into the *Teutoburg Forest*, between the Lippe and the Weser,

through which he had to march in order to quell the above revolt. No sooner had he entered the forest with three legions, when the dreadful German war song arose and a shower of stones, arrows, and javelins fell upon them. After three days' fighting his army of 40,000 men was almost completely annihilated (A. D. 9). Varus himself was wounded and put an end to his life.

As a result of this defeat the Romans were compelled to leave the territory east of the Rhine. Arminius had thus become the liberator of the German people.

The Cherusci now for a time became the principal tribe of Germany. Peace reigned awhile. Tiberius was raised to the imperial throne, and the son of Drusus, who afterwards received the surname of Germanicus, was placed at the head of the forces on the Rhine, in the hope of retrieving the defeat of Varus and reconquering Germany. He made repeated attempts, but effected little beyond occasional devastations of German territories (14-16 A.D.). The Roman possessions beyond the Rhine and the Danube were mere outposts for the better security of the land within these rivers. The land fenced in by the rampart of Domitian, strengthened by the wall of Probus which joined the Rhine at *Deutz* with the Danube at *Kehlheim*, was hardly more than such an outpost on a great scale. From the time the Ro-

mans had reached the Danube and the Rhine, the warfare of Rome became defensive.

During the long period of peace which followed the war of liberation, important changes took place in the interior of Germany. The Germans passed from their half-nomadic and pastoral state to the more settled life of agriculture. Wheat raising and the cultivation of vineyards and orchards were begun. German adventurers, sometimes whole tribes, took service in the Roman army; prominent warriors were promoted to places of honor and trust. The Romans entered into commercial relations with purely Teutonic races; smaller tribes coalesced into larger communities; the old names, mentioned by Cæsar and Tacitus, disappeared; new names of powerful confederations took their place. Thus the Goths, who had come from Scandinavia to the Danube and the northern shore of the Black Sea, the Saxons on either side of the Weser, Burgundians, Alamanni, and Franks on the Rhine, began to press with great persistency against the frontiers.

Toward the middle of the third century, Goths, Gepidae, Herulians, and other tribes overran the northeastern frontiers of the Empire and devastated Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and portions of Asia Minor. Two emperors, Decius and Claudius II, lost their lives in these campaigns. Aurelian gained a victory over the Goths, but relin-

quished Dacia to them, exacting their promise not to harass Moesia (244-270). Henceforth the Goths, for nearly a century, kept peace with the Romans.

About the same time the Franks ravaged Gaul and Spain, and the Suevi and Alamanni crossed into Italy; the Alamanni, in a more recent invasion of Italy, were defeated by Aurelian (270), the Franks and the Burgundians by Probus (256-277).

Almost the whole family of Constantine the Great was engaged in the defensive war against Teutonic nations. Constantius Chlorus, the father of the first Christian emperor, defeated the Alamanni; Constantine the Great himself fought and checked the Goths in two wars, and defeated the Vandals; Julian, while still Cæsar, defeated the Alamanni and Ripuarian Franks, and assigned to the Salian Franks lands in northern Gaul. It was during the reign of Valentinian, that the above-mentioned Teutonic nations pressed with ever-increasing force against the whole of the northern frontiers of the Empire; it was in the year of his death (375), that the irruption of the Huns set the whole mass of barbarians in seething motion, and that the territory within the boundaries of the Roman Empire so long successfully defended, began to be taken and occupied by Germanic races.

IV

THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS

About the year 375, the Huns, a barbarous people, invaded Europe. This caused a general migration of the nations of Europe, one nation crowding out the other. The Huns were Turanians of the Turkish family, driven from the north of Asia a few centuries previously. Fleet and indefatigable horsemen, low in stature, wild in features and appearance, and ruthless in conduct, they carried terror and devastation wherever they went. In 375 they crossed the Volga, where they met the *Goths*, the first of the Teutonic nations to accept Christianity from Roman captives, slaves, merchants, soldiers, and missionaries. The Goths comprised two chief divisions: the *Ostrogoths* and the *Visigoths* (eastern and western Goths). The former had formed a kingdom on the Baltic and had worked their way down to the mouth of the Danube. East of the Ostrogoths dwelt the *Alans*, a mixed race, west, on the northern bank of the Danube, the Visigoths. Most of the Christian Goths were Arians. A bishop of their own race, *Ulphilas*, gave them the Gothic alphabet, a writ-

ten language, and a translation of a great portion of the Bible, and thus became the founder of Teutonic literature.

The Huns overpowered the Alans, made them vassals, and with their aid overcame the Ostrogoths. The latter were allowed to have their own chiefs, but subject to the Huns. The three nations next marched against the Visigoths (376).

Two hundred thousand Visigoths, thus threatened by a formidable alliance, asked the Roman Emperor Valens' leave to cross the Danube and settled in Thrace as subjects or allies of the Empire. They were followed by others of their countrymen whom it was not possible to keep far off when so many of their people were on the other side of the river. The treacherous and inhuman treatment which they had to suffer at the hands of the Roman officers induced them to call their former enemies to their aid. Reinforced by bands of Ostrogoths, Alans, and Huns, they overran Thrace, spreading abroad ruin with fire and sword. Valens hastened thither from Asia, and met them in the battle of Hadrianople (378). He was completely defeated, hardly a third of his army escaping. The wounded emperor, it is said, perished in a hut to which the Goths had set fire.

About the middle of the fifth century the Huns, under *Attila*, set out for Gaul, sacking and burning on their march all the towns and villages, especially

in the vicinity of the Rhine. This great barbarian destroyer was justly called the "Scourge of God," because he was believed to have been sent by God to punish the world. Near Chalons-sur-Marne, on the *Catalaunian Fields*, one of the most important battles in the history of the world was fought (451). Attila, utterly defeated, withdrew from the field during the night, and soon after returned to Hungary, where he died in 453 or 454, whilst organizing a new expedition against Constantinople.

The *Visigoths*, who during the reign of the great Emperor Theodosius lived in peace with the Romans, invaded Italy under the leadership of Alaric, and after his death penetrated into Gaul and Spain. Here they founded the Visigothic Kingdom, with Toulouse as its capital. This kingdom soon embraced the greater part of Spain and Gaul as far as the Loire. The *Burgundians* settled in southeastern Gaul. The *Franks* extended their territories from Belgium to the northern coast of Gaul. The *Lombards* settled in northern Italy. To the Romans little more than Italy was left. Blended with other nations, which continually poured into their territory, they had no longer any attachment either to the imperial government or to emperors who could not defend them against their enemies. *Odoaker*, a Teutonic chief, in the year 476 put an end to the Roman Empire. The regions of northern Germany

abandoned by the wandering nations, were settled by Slav tribes coming from the East. Among them were the *Wends*, who moved into the country between the Elbe and Oder.

V

CHLODWIG

Of all German tribes the *Franks* alone founded an enduring empire. The Franks were divided into two principal branches, the *Salian* (from Ysala, Yssel) and the *Ripuarian* (from ripa, bank of the Rhine), with several under-tribes governed by separate chiefs, until Clovis or *Chlodwig* united the different tribes into one kingdom. He is therefore considered the founder of the Kingdom of the Franks. He belonged to the *Merovingian House*, so called after his grandfather Merovig or Merwig.

Having thus consolidated his power, Chlodwig overran Gaul and defeated Syagrius in the battle of *Soissons* (486). By this victory Chlodwig destroyed the last remnant of Roman power in Gaul. He extended his kingdom as far as the Loire and made Paris his capital.

By the conquest of Gaul Chlodwig came in conflict with the neighboring *Alamanni*, who dwelt eastward on the Upper and Middle Rhine. Like the Frisians in the North, and the Thuringians in the Northeast, they had taken no part in the migration of nations.

Disturbed in their southern seats, they pushed northward, threatening the Ripuarians under Sigibert of Cologne. Chlodwig marched to his aid and fought a great battle at *Zülpich*, near Cologne. In the stress of battle, when the Franks were sorely pressed by the Alamanni, Chlodwig vowed to embrace the faith of his wife, Chlotilda, the Catholic niece of the Burgundian Gundobad, if Christ should grant him the victory. He gained a victory most important in its results. It established Frankish supremacy over the Alamanni and led to the baptism of Chlodwig and his sister and 3,000 of his warriors with their families, by St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, and to the conversion of the Franks to the Catholic faith. The Franks, both Salian and Ripuarian, followed Chlodwig's example, and in one generation paganism disappeared among them.

With his brave Franks Chlodwig also conquered the Visigoths and took possession of their country as far as the Garonne River. The Kingdom of the Franks now extended from the North Sea to the Garonne, from the Atlantic Ocean to far beyond the Rhine. Though Chlodwig was unscrupulous, aggressive, and cruel even to his own family, his career brought it to pass in the hands of Providence, that the Franks and not the Goths directed the destinies of nearly all the Teutonic nations, and that the Catholic faith, not Arianism, became their religion.

Though the Merovingian kings and their personal followers became Christians, they did not cease to be barbarians. Their lives were a constant struggle between opposing principles. Only gradually did the Church, and especially the monasteries, succeed in taming the wild passions of the Franks, still inflamed as they were by contact with Gallo-Roman corruption.

The chief divisions of the Frankish Kingdom were *Austrasia* or East Frankland, with Rheims or Metz for capitals; *Burgundy* with Orleans for capital; in these two provinces (or kingdoms) the original Teutonic spirit prevailed. In *Neustria* or West Frankland, with Paris or Soissons for capitals, and in southern *Aquitaine* a greater sympathy with Roman ways made itself felt in the course of time.

After the death of Chlodwig, his four sons divided the kingdom among themselves. They conquered Thuringia (527), Burgundy (534), and Bavaria between 541–548. Chlotaire I, who reunited the kingdom, opened a series of wars with the Saxons, which lasted two centuries and a half and explains the deep hatred which the Saxons bore the Franks.

Under the following Merovingians great disputes arose, which brought unspeakable misfortune upon the kingdom. They left the government to their chief domestic officer, who was called *Maior domus* or *Mayor of the Palace*. The most distinguished of

the Mayors of the Palace were Pipin of Heristal, Charles Martel, and Pipin the Short.

Pipin of Heristal (687-714) defeated the Neustrians at Testri, near Soissons, became Mayor of the Palace for the whole Frankish Kingdom, made the office hereditary in the Carolingian House, and assumed the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks. By the victory of Testri the Teutonic character of the Frankish Kingdom was restored, and the German element triumphed over the Gallo-Roman for the next two centuries.

Charles Martel (714-741) gained great renown by his victory over the Saracens (732). The Saracens were Mahometans, who conquered the northern coast of Africa, landed in Spain, and soon brought that entire country under their rule. Then they crossed the Pyrenees, invaded the Frankish Kingdom, threatening to overrun the whole of Europe, everywhere spreading terror, rapine, and devastation. Fortunately, the Frankish Kingdom possessed at that time in the person of Duke Charles Martel the greatest general in Christendom. Between *Tours* and *Poitiers* the two greatest armies of the world met to decide whether Christianity or Islam, European or Asiatic civilization, should rule the continent. The defeat of the Saracens was so crushing that they precipitately recrossed the Pyrenees. By it, all Europe was saved from the yoke of bar-

barism and infidelity. On that battlefield Charles gained the surname of *Martel* (hammer), because, like a hammer, he had crushed the power of Islam.

His son *Pipin the Short* (752-768) wished to combine the dignity of a king with the power he had inherited from his father. He, therefore, sent envoys to Pope St. Zachary, asking if he should be king who bore the mere name, or he who wielded the royal power? The Pontiff answered, that it would be better and more profitable for *him* to be king who had the power. Thereupon Childeric III, the last Merovingian, was shorn and sent to a monastery according to the custom of the times. Pipin the Short, in 752, ascended the throne of the Franks and became the founder of the Carolingian House. The new king was anointed by St. Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, and two years later, Pope Stephen II crossed the Alps and by crowning Pipin, ratified the action of St. Zachary. Pipin, later on, showed himself grateful to the Pope. The Lombards, already masters of a great part of Italy, aimed at subduing the whole, and indeed conquered the province of Ravenna, which, under the name of *Exarchate*, had until then belonged to the emperors of Constantinople. Rome itself being on the point of falling into their power, Pipin, at the Pope's request, twice hastened with his army across the Alps into Italy, wrested the provinces and cities, which

had been usurped by the Lombards, from them and donated a great portion of his conquests to the Pope. This donation formed the beginning of the *Papal States*, which lasted until 1870.

VI

ST. BONIFACE, APOSTLE OF GERMANY

During the first centuries the teachings of Christianity had been spread from Rome into several sections of southern and western Germany. Thus Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne were raised to the dignity of episcopal sees in comparatively early times. Among the Franks, Christianity had been spread since the conversion of Chlodwig. In northern and middle Germany, however, paganism still prevailed.

At that time Divine Providence raised pious men on the British Isles, where Christianity had already taken firm root, who were to take the message of salvation to the heathen Germans. The first of these missionaries were St. Fridolin, St. Columba, St. Kilian, and St. Willibrord. But the most distinguished of them all was St. Boniface. He not only succeeded in converting several tribes to Christianity but secured for the Church a firm position in Germany. For this reason especially he has merited the title "Apostle of the Germans."

Boniface, formerly called Winfred, of distin-

guished English parentage, was born in the year 680. In the solitude of the Benedictine cloister Winfred was prepared for his holy work. Having been ordained a priest, he resolved to devote his life to the conversion of the heathens. He at first went to the Frisians on the North Sea, afterwards, with the approval of the Pope, to the people of Hesse and Thuringia.

In the neighborhood of Geismar, in Hesse, stood a very ancient oak, consecrated to Donar, the god of thunder, under which the heathen people of that district were wont to sacrifice. Boniface knew that this tree was considered sacred. In order, therefore, to show the heathen people the powerlessness of their gods, he struck the tree with his axe. The terrified heathens looked up towards the sky and back to Boniface; for they surely expected that Donar would strike down the felon with a thunderbolt. However, the tree fell, and the Apostle remained unharmed. Thereupon the pagans renounced their powerless gods, who were not even able to save their sacred tree from weak human hands, and desired to be baptized. From the wood of the felled oak Boniface built a chapel in honor of St. Peter.

Accompanied by a few disciples, Boniface now went forth, from place to place, into the heart of Bavaria. Everywhere the people assembled in large numbers to hear the word of the powerful mission-

ary who had felled Donar's oak. The multitude that came to be baptized was so great that Boniface with his few disciples could not prepare all for the reception of the sacraments. He, therefore, summoned new missionaries from his native country. The English monasteries, upon his request, sent him zealous priests and pious nuns. Where they settled, numerous churches and cloisters arose.

Having been appointed bishop by the Holy Father, Boniface created several bishoprics in the converted districts, as Ratisbon, Würzburg, Passau, Eichstädt, and Erfurt. With the assistance of his excellent pupil Sturm, he founded a monastery at Fulda, with the famous cloister school. At last, after an episcopate of twenty-five years, he made his permanent residence at Mayence, as archbishop, Mayence being simultaneously raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see, to which the bishoprics of Tongern, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, and Utrecht were suffragan, and "all peoples of Germany whom thy word has led to the knowledge of Christ" were subordinate. Prior to this period Boniface had solved, as far as human efforts would allow, the hardest task of his life: the religious and moral elevation of the Church in the Frankish Kingdom.

Now at last Boniface was permitted to rest, now he could look for a reward from God that was worthy of him, now he was allowed to stretch forth

his hand for the palm of triumph, for the palm of martyrdom. On the shores of the Zuider Sea, where more than forty years before, in the ardor of his youth, he had begun his life-work, he succumbed to the strokes of Christ's enemies, on June 5, 755.

It is impossible to appraise the worth of all the improvement of mind and morals, of the strengthening of mental and physical powers and all advancement and enlightenment, as expressed by the German word "*Kultur*," resulting from the labors of St. Boniface. Christianizing means civilizing. For man stands the higher "culturally," the truer, the purer, the more spiritual his ideas are about his own being, his position in the universe, his destiny; the loftier the ideals of his life, the nobler the ethical motives directing all his deeds and omissions. This is true of the individual, of peoples, of mankind in its entirety. On that account, if for nothing else, Christ is the greatest benefactor of mankind. On that account, those men who take up his life-task and advance the Christian view of life and Christian conduct are civilizers and benefactors of the nations in the truest sense of the words. On that account, Boniface is the greatest civilizer of Germany; for his whole life is an uninterrupted but victorious fight of Christianity against the barbarity, ignorance, and moral degeneration of paganism.

The monasteries and abbeys erected by Boniface

were not only homes of cloistered piety and asceticism, but every one of them became a centre of intellectual culture, art, and learning, both ecclesiastical and profane. It is known how much Fulda and the other abbeys founded by Boniface, or at least made possible by him, have done for the intellectual advancement of Germany in the Middle Ages. Great were his achievements especially in the field of female education. In the convent schools of the English orders transplanted by Boniface on German soil, the native German girls were educated in piety and instructed in things secular as well as religious, in manual work, in horticulture, in the domestic sciences. In these schools the children of the better classes received a higher education commensurate with their social standing. Thus it came about that a pious, modest, and industrious womanhood arose, which pervaded the family life with its spirit, ennobling and sanctifying it; that Germany attained such a high plane of culture as to surpass all other nations; that, finally, at the time when knighthood was in flower, the charm and gracefulness, the purity and modesty, the learning and piety of the German woman was made the object of homage and admiration the like of which had not existed before. The convents were a civilizing factor in the best meaning of the word.

It was not given to Boniface to behold the glory

of the days when the "Roman Emperor of the German Nation" after his coronation showed himself to his people, with the diadem on his brow, holding in one hand the scepter, in the other the globe; when the cross, the spear, the sword were borne before him, and when surrounded by his princes in shining armor and by the representatives of the free cities, he was joyfully greeted by his people with the words: "Christ conquers, Christ rules, Christ triumphs;"—but Boniface had prepared the glory of those times. He had written into the heart of the German people those eternal principles of constitutional freedom, which are the foundation of every Christian society, expressed in the words, "Christ conquers, Christ rules, Christ triumphs." The victory of mind over matter, of right over might, and the fact that the various semi-barbarous Germanic peoples, continually warring with one another, gradually suffering themselves to be ruled by divine ideas, united at first by the bonds of faith and then by national ties, all this making possible the Empires of Charles the Great and Otto the Great, the grand Middle Ages of Germany with their incomparable power, learning, and art, may be traced directly to the influence of Boniface, the Apostle of Germany.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLES THE GREAT

Pipin the Short had divided the Kingdom of the Franks between his two sons *Charles* and *Karlmann*. A few years after, Karlmann died, and his vassals, the bishops and nobles of Burgundy and Alamannia, paid homage to Charles as King of all the Frankish realms.

Charles (Charles the Great, *Charlemagne*) made it his life work to unify all Germanic peoples into one great Christian empire.

Wars of Charles.—Charles had inherited from his father, and from Charles Martel, his grandfather, the duty of protecting Catholic Europe from the Saracens, Slavs, and heathen Saxons, and he pushed the outer defences of Christendom into territories still living in paganism and savagery, by promoting the conversion of all new subjects recently subdued, and he continued the temporal protectorate over the Church and the Holy See, which the Franks had assumed under Pipin the Short. His most difficult task was the conquest of the Saxons.

The *Saxons*, living between the Rhine and the

Elbe, were the hereditary foes both of the Franks and of Christianity. They were in the habit of making inroads into the neighboring Frankish territory for plunder and murder. They even took their captives with them to be sacrificed to their supreme god Wodan.

Charles resolved to subdue this restless pagan people and to convert them to Christianity. The fight against the Saxons lasted thirty years, for they defended their ancient liberty, religion, and customary laws with the greatest tenacity. Whenever Charles invaded their territory, they promised submission and even asked to be baptized in great numbers; but no sooner had he turned his back upon their country, than they rose again to destroy the churches and chapels founded by Charles, and to slay the priests. They even penetrated far into Frankish territory. Nine times they thus shook off the foreign yoke.

Their chief leader was *Widukind*, who again and again incited his people to revolt. After numerous hopeless struggles, Widukind finally lost faith in the power of his gods. He offered peace and asked for baptism. From that moment he remained loyal to the Frankish King, and the real conversion of the Saxons began. To strengthen and extend the Christian religion, Charles founded the bishoprics of Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, and others.

Soon after his first campaign against the Saxons, Charles, at the entreaties of Pope Hadrian I, crossed the Alps at the head of a gallant army against *Desiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, who had made inroads upon the territory granted to the Pope by Pipin. Charles conquered Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom, sent *Desiderius* to a Frankish monastery, and assumed the title of "King of the Franks and the Longobards" (774).

Two Arab chiefs in *Spain*, being hard pressed by some other prince, asked for Charles's protection, offering their allegiance in return. Charles crossed the Pyrenees and occupied the country as far as the Ebro. On his march back the rear guard of his army was attacked and almost annihilated in the passes of the Pyrenees. Here fell the hero *Roland*, one of Charles's most faithful knights, celebrated in many medieval romances. Later on the territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro was made a Frankish province (Spanish March). The Saracens emigrated in a body, and their places were taken by Frankish and Visigoth settlers.

Thassilo, Duke of *Bavaria*, a disobedient and unruly vassal since the days of Pipin, allied himself with his eastern neighbors, the *Avars*, against Charles. The Bavarians themselves were indignant at this alliance with a heathen nation. Charles succeeded in capturing the faithless duke, sent him to

end his days in a monastery, and incorporated his dukedom into the Empire. Thereupon Charles marched against the Avars, advancing to the Raab and conquering their territory, which became the Avaric or East March. By the vigor and success of his military exertions Charles had gradually become master of more territory in Europe than any ruler had controlled since the fall of the Western Empire. His kingdom extended from the Atlantic to the Elbe and the Raab, from the Ebro and the Tiber as far as the North Sea and the Baltic. All the heterogeneous peoples subjugated under his rule, he united by the power of his personality and the bond of the common Catholic faith. Nothing was wanting to his earthly grandeur but the imperial diadem, and that was bestowed upon him, about this time, in the most flattering manner.

Charles Crowned as Emperor (800).—Pope Leo III had been cruelly maltreated and imprisoned by the kinsmen of his predecessor, Hadrian I. Released by his friends, he fled to Paderborn to implore the protection of Charles, who crossed the Alps and punished the evildoers, whereupon order and peace were re-established.

On Christmas day (800), when Charles was kneeling before the altar of St. Peter's, Pope Leo placed a golden crown on the head bowed in humble prayer, while the assembled people greeted the

Frankish King with the joyful exclamation: "Life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." By this act the Supreme Head on earth of the Catholic Church solemnly conferred on Charles the Great the protectorate of the Church and the guardianship of public right and order.

Thus rose a power in Europe, old in name, but new in meaning, which under many vicissitudes was to be the political centre of Europe for a thousand years. The Western Empire, which had been overthrown in 476, was thus, in a new form, revived. Pope, Emperor, and people considered this new Empire the highest secular Protectorate over the Church, which conferred on the bearer not any new territorial power, but a supremacy of honor and dignity over the princes of Christendom. The idea of this new Catholic Empire generally recognized in the Middle Ages, made it a duty of the Emperor to protect Christendom against all enemies, to defend the Holy See, the Church and her ministers, to assist the Church in her legislative work and in the conversion of heathen nations by the secular arm, to protect the widows and orphans, the wronged and the persecuted, and to act as the guardian of public justice and the peace-maker among Christian princes.

Charles the Great as Statesman.—Charles was

not only a great conqueror; he also labored untiringly every year of his reign, with resolution and deliberate purpose for the benefit of all classes in his vast dominions.

In order to facilitate the administration of his Empire, he divided it into numerous counties (gaus), presided over by counts. Frankish counts and other vassals were scattered through all the parts of the Empire, though native nobles were by no means excluded. These counts exercised civil and military jurisdiction in the King's name. The borders of the Empire were protected by "marches" or marks, *i.e.*, stretches of land studded with fortresses and garrisoned by Frankish troops in charge of "Margraves" (Markgraf), with extensive powers. Two royal messengers (*missi dominici*), a bishop and a count, with ample powers from the King, were sent out into every part of the kingdom four times a year to convene court and generally to inspect, examine, reform, report, and thus to bring the whole kingdom under the personal superintendence of Charles. All judicial cases, requiring a decision in the highest instance, came before the King and his immediate assistants through the Count Palatine, the highest secular officer of the court.

Charles the Great understood and acted upon the principle of civilized order, that no human law contravening the law of God can bind in conscience, and

that the customary claims of individuals or tribes must give way to the public interest and the common good. He recognized the authority of the Church to judge any question relating to the morality of human acts. Returning from his coronation, he ordered a revision of all existing laws for the purpose of eliminating any ordinance which might be opposed to the law of God. The Capitularies or enactments of the Frankish diets or mixed councils everywhere acknowledge the laws of God and of the Church. These diets or general assemblies were of a deliberative character, and composed of the bishops, abbots, counts, margraves, and the prominent members of the King's personal following. They met twice a year, in May, in connection with the Mayfield or general review of the army, and in autumn. The 572 Capitularies (so called because of their chapters or headings) of the sixty-five diets held in the reign of Charles the Great, covered every branch of legislation, religious, civil, political, economic, penal; they exhibited the manifold relations of the Church with Christian princes, the rights and duties of the feudal system, the encouragement of learning, the management of imperial domains, etc., going into the most minute details, such as the planting of fruit trees, flowers, vegetables and medicinal herbs.

This wonderful sovereign and mighty conqueror

had nothing more at heart than the promotion of Christian education. He himself deeply respected the Christian religion, in which he had been brought up, observing and practising it with childlike devotion. Thus he set a shining example to his subjects. To strengthen the Church in his dominions, he founded bishoprics, churches, monasteries and endowed them generously. To make the divine service more impressive he summoned singers and organists from Italy.

Charles the Great is the first secular ruler who made provisions for the education and instruction of his subjects. He called the best scholars of his time from Italy, England, and Ireland — among them the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin and Peter of Pisa — and became himself their most eager pupil. His palace school at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) was the most renowned educational institution in the West; there his own children and those of his court-officials studied under his personal supervision. In the great episcopal sees and in all the monasteries, schools were set up in which rich and poor were educated free of expense; even primary schools connected with parish-houses owed their existence to his zeal for education. From time to time he visited the various schools in order to convince himself of the progress of the pupils.

Charles continued St. Boniface's work of unify-

ing the different dialects into one national language; he himself composed with Alcuin's aid a German grammar. Under his fostering care numerous copies of Holy Writ, Roman and Greek classical authors, the old heroic epics of the Franks and other German tribes, biographies, chronicles, and works of secular history were collected and copied, and new works written and multiplied by the monks. The long list of learned men of the period succeeding Charles's death was chiefly the fruit of these new schools.

But Charles the Great had not only the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects constantly in view, he was also intent upon bettering their economic condition. In order to promote agriculture, he caused model farms to be established in his royal domains, where the peasants might learn how to cultivate field and garden in the most economic and profitable manner and how to breed, and care for, their cattle.

Charles was a great builder. The splendid cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, designed by himself and adorned with columns and marbles from Rome and Ravenna, the three royal palaces at Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Engelheim, the magnificent Rhine bridge at Mayence testify to his interest in building and engineering.

Charles, as a Frank, was purely *Teutonic*, a thor-

ough Austrasian in blood, ideas, and tastes. His residences were situated, and all his Mayfields held, as far as we know, in the Austrasian part of Frankland. France in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist. Francia was then a small district around Paris.

The great king died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his favorite residence, after receiving the last sacraments, A. D. 814. His last words were: "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!"

Charles is the most distinguished of all the Carolingians. He is renowned for his brilliant deeds on the battle-field as well as his solicitude for the welfare of his people. History has, therefore, given him the surname "the Great." His work was not lost in the anarchy that followed; his reign laid the foundations, hidden for a time by ruins but not destroyed, whereon men continued for many centuries to build.

VIII

THE CENTURY AFTER CHARLES THE GREAT

Charles the Great was succeeded by his son *Lewis the Pious*, who had earned his title by the singularly virtuous life he led. By the *Treaty of Verdun* (843), his sons divided the Frankish Kingdom into three parts. *Lothaire*, the first-born, was recognized as Emperor and obtained a long strip of land reaching from Friesland to Italy and Provence. The inhabitants were partly of German, partly of Romance nationality, in about equal proportion. The purely German territory to the east of this kingdom was assigned to *Ludwig the German*, the lands of the Romanizing West to *Charles the Bald*.

The Kingdom of Lothaire soon came to be called Lotharingia or Lorraine, and retained the character of a border-land. The Treaty of Verdun traced the broad lines of the future Kingdoms of Germany, France, and Italy; its consequences endure to the present day.

Ludwig the German laid the foundations of Germany as a national Kingdom. During his long reign (840-876) Saxons and Franconians, Bavar-

ians and Alamanni or Suabians, as they began to be called, learned to regard themselves as a nation apart, not merely as provinces of the Frankish Empire.

Ludwig's successors were mostly weak rulers. In their reigns the Northmen from Denmark and Norway and the Hungarians harassed the country. The countries thus attacked were thrown upon their own resources and chose a capable leader, called "duke," who remained their duke also after the dissolution of the army and soon assumed all the governmental rights till then exercised solely by the King. Thus the royal power gradually passed to the dukes, and the kingdom was dissolved into five *dukedom*s: Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Alamannia or Suabia, and Lorraine.

IX

HENRY I

In the year 911 the last Carolingian in Germany, *Lewis the Child*, passed away. After his death the Saxons and the Franks offered the crown to Otto the Illustrious, Duke of Saxony, who on account of his advanced age declined, but drew their choice upon *Conrad of Franconia*. Since that time Germany remained an elective kingdom up to the year 1806.

Conrad's attempts to strengthen the unity of the Kingdom by moderating the power of the national dukes, involved him in a weary succession of feudal wars with his unruly vassals. Worn out by cares and wounded in his last campaign in Bavaria, he nobly followed the example of Otto the Illustrious, and with his dying breath recommended to the princes his enemy, Henry of Saxony, as the worthiest to succeed him, thus setting a beautiful example of generosity and patriotism.

Henry, surnamed *the Fowler*, on account of his fondness for hunting, was chosen by the Saxons and Franks, after the latter had adopted him as a Frank. With him begins the rule of the *Saxon House*.

The first important achievement of the new King was the *restoration of the unity of the kingdom*. The hostile dukes of Bavaria and Suabia he won over by his prudence and moderation. Even Lorraine returned to her allegiance. Thus he reunited the five great duchies with the kingdom, and became, in truth, the *founder of the German Empire*.

Henry freed Germany from the attacks of the neighboring tribes, especially of the Hungarians, whose only delight was in pillage and destruction. In 924 they had invaded Saxony in great numbers. At that time Henry was not able to oppose them effectively; the Germans, however, succeeded in capturing one of the enemy's chiefs. The Hungarians were ready to ransom their chief with a large amount of money, but Henry, to gain time, demanded a nine years' truce, in return for which he promised to set free the captive and to pay a tribute. He now built castles and strongholds along the exposed frontiers of Saxony and Thuringia. He ordered assemblies, markets, and public gatherings to be held within the walls of towns and fortified boroughs. Thus arose Quedlinburg, Merseburg, Hersfeld, Goslar, Nordhausen, Meissen, and other towns. These fortified places received garrisons. Every ninth farmer had to live within the walls of a new town and build houses to serve as a refuge

for his comrades in case of an invasion, whilst those remaining had to till his farm.

Henry formed a standing army, "the Merseburg Troop" of freebooters, who had forfeited their lives, gave them land and arms, and taught them to defend instead of harassing their country. He trained the newly organized army in successful expeditions against the *Wends* and other northern Slavs. By his warfare with Slavs and Danes, and by establishing German settlements in the midst of the border nations, he laid the foundation of the great ring of Marches or Marks, whose organization was completed by his son Otto the Great. One of these Marks, the Northmark, forms the *beginning of the Prussian State*.

The truce with the Hungarians having expired in 933, they again appeared in formidable strength. Henry quickly collected his army and, near *Merseburg*, defeated his country's worst foes to such good purpose that the realm for a long time enjoyed peace and security on the eastern frontiers.

Before his death Henry summoned the princes of his kingdom and recommended his son Otto as the future king; after careful deliberation they all declared themselves for Otto. Henry died in 936 and was buried in Quedlinburg.

X

OTTO I, THE GREAT

After Henry's death, the Saxons and the Franks, true to their promise, elected Otto king. Not satisfied with being chosen by the chief tribes only, he wished to be solemnly acknowledged by the entire Empire. All the dukes, counts, and nobles were, therefore, summoned to Aix-la-Chapelle to do homage to the new ruler. They placed him on the marble throne of Charles the Great and swore allegiance forever and assistance against all foes. The Archbishop of Mayence then anointed and crowned him. After the religious ceremonies were over, a brilliant banquet was held in the royal palace, at which the bishops and nobles were present. At table and at court the dukes waited upon the King, one as chamberlain, one as carver, one as cup-bearer, and one as master of the horse. The chamberlain had charge of the royal chambers and arranged the entire feast; the carver prepared the royal banquet; the cup-bearer provided the wines and beverages, and the master of the horse had charge of the royal entourage and stables. At the coronation of

Otto the dukes acted in this capacity for the first time. These services of honor were considered a sure sign that they acknowledged the crowned one as their King and that they desired only to be the first of his servants.

Henry I had treated the great dukes like independent princes. Otto, however, following the example of Charles the Great, treated them as his subjects. When he demanded obedience, several of the dukes revolted against him. Even his own brother, Henry, joined the ranks of the rebels. Henry claimed the royal crown for himself, since he was born when his father was king, Otto, on the contrary, when his father was still duke of Saxony. Otto defeated the rebels and intrusted their duchies to faithful men. To Henry, who finally humbled himself, he gave Bavaria.

The death of St. Edith, the sister of Æthelstan of England, the first wife of Otto I, wrought a marked change in his character. His piety grew more earnest, and he began to take a personal part in the religious revival which marks his reign. St. Bruno, his younger brother, heretofore his chancellor, became Archbishop of Cologne, with ducal powers over Lorraine. St. Ulric graced the see of Augsburg, St. Conrad that of Constance. Learned Irish monks and bishops, driven by the Northmen from the Green Isle, con-

tributed to the revival of the strict observance in the German monasteries inaugurated by Archbishop Bruno. At the court of Otto rose a school similar to the Palace School of Charles the Great. Over 100 new classical manuscripts were imported from Italy. Ecclesiastical learning flourished in the monastic schools of St. Gall, along the Rhine, and in Lorraine. A new literature sprang up, in which German peculiarities were blended with classical forms. The monk Widukind of Corvey wrote the annals of the Saxons; the abbess Hroswitha of Gandersheim composed poems and comedies in Latin. Otto himself learned to read Latin. Under the guidance and example of St. Bruno, a new generation of prelates arose, eager for the abolition of abuses, for education at home, and for missionary undertakings among the heathens. Soon after the death of Henry I, the *Wends* had risen, in order to throw off the hated German yoke. Otto defeated the Wends; but he knew full well that this was not sufficient for him to count on a lasting peace, which was possible only if the Wends should be converted to Christianity. Otto did as Charles the Great had done with the Saxons long before him, and established in the conquered lands bishoprics, as Havelberg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Meissen, and Magdeburg. The *Danes* were also vanquished and led into the fold of Christianity.

In 955 the *Hungarians*, one hundred thousand strong, again invaded Germany and pitched their camp on the *Lechfeld* near Augsburg. St. Ulric heroically defended his episcopal city. Otto with all the forces of the kingdom completely routed the enemy, and the defeated Magyars fled in wild disorder to Hungary, never to return. Gradually they settled down to till the soil and defend their homes and became accessible to the teachings of the gospel.

Otto had secured his throne internally and against all comers. His was the royal authority of Charles the Great, and it was now the time for him to receive the crown. At that time *Berengar*, King of Italy, defied Pope John XII in his own territory. Urged by the Pope, Otto crossed the Alps. At his approach the army of Berengar melted away; the cities willingly opened their gates and Otto I received the crown of Lombardy at Milan. At Rome he was welcomed with great honors, and received the imperial crown from John XII. By his coronation oath he promised to protect the Church and her head, to issue no orders concerning the Holy See and the people of Rome without the advice of the Pope, to restore to the Holy See whatever of the Patrimony of St. Peter should come into his possession, and to bind his future representatives in Italy to protect the person and honor of the Pope and the

property of the Church. The sovereignty of the Holy See in the States of the Church was formally recognized by Otto the Great. John XII and the Romans swore never to aid the enemies of the Emperor, especially Berengar.

Thus the Roman Empire was restored 161 years after the coronation of Charles the Great, and in course of time obtained the name of the "*Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*." "Holy" because its principal aim was the protection of the Holy See and Catholic Christendom; "Roman Empire," as a substitute for the extinct Empire of the West; of the "German Nation," not necessarily that the Emperor should belong to the German nation, but because the German princes had the right of electing the candidate and presenting him to the Pope for imperial coronation.

With contentment Otto could view his lifework. He had brought the countries between the Elbe and the Weichsel under his dominion and under Christian influence; in an age of anarchy he had made Germany the leading power of Europe; the leading German chiefs paid homage to him, and, as Roman Emperor, his was the highest temporal authority in Christendom. He died at Memleben, where also his father had died, and was buried in the new cathedral of Magdeburg.

His successors were *Otto II* (973-983), *Otto III*

(983–1002), and *Henry II* (1002–1024). The latter, also surnamed the *Saint*, had to fight for the first two years of his reign against rebellious vassals. In 1004 he marched against Arduin, Margrave of Ivrea, who had gathered around him a powerful party and received the Italian crown in 1002, just before Henry was crowned in Germany. Henry's arrival scattered an army of Arduin at Verona, and he was crowned King of Italy at Pavia (1005).

Henry applied himself with great energy to the task of pacifying the country, of curbing the lawlessness of the nobles by definite laws and recorded customs, of protecting the people against oppression, and of strengthening the royal power by a strong alliance with the Church. It was through his efforts that the zealous reformers of the Abbey of Cluny obtained a strong position in Germany, who were thus enabled to smooth the way for the more general reforms effected by the greatest monk of Cluny, Pope *Gregory VII*. Personal favoritism was unknown during St. Henry's reign; not one step was taken by the King to increase his family power; the Saint was absolutely indifferent as to who should succeed him, but as long as he ruled, he looked upon his charge as a fief of God, to whom he was responsible for his administration.

In spite of all his efforts for peace he had re-

peatedly to draw his sword to suppress feuds or to punish rebellious vassals.

In 1013, Henry II undertook his second expedition into Italy, where he protected Pope Benedict VIII against schismatical opposition of the Crescentian party. Crescentius was a descendant of the House of Theodora, the one family that above all others is responsible for the disorders of Rome in those days. Henry conducted the Pope to Rome and received with his wife, St. Kunigunda, the imperial crown, A. D. 1014. It was on this occasion that the Pope bestowed upon the Emperor the golden ball, the emblem of the globe over which he was destined to rule.

True to his office of Protector of the Church, Henry crossed the Alps a third time, in 1022, with 60,000 men, took Capua, Salerno, and other places from the Byzantines, and received the homage of Naples. His death, in 1024, put an end to the Saxon House.

XI

HENRY IV

Henry II was succeeded by the Franconian *Conrad II*, who was connected with the Saxon House through Otto I's daughter Luitgard. By guaranteeing the union of Upper Lorraine, on the death of its reigning duke, with Lower Lorraine, he conciliated the Duke of Lower Lorraine and won his allegiance, thereby frustrating the schemes of some disaffected German princes to play that province into the hand of Robert I of France. At the death of Rudolph, last king of Burgundy, in consequence of treaties made with Henry II and Conrad II, that kingdom was united with Germany, and the union generally recognized in 1034. By the union of Lorraine and Burgundy with Germany, the Kingdom of the Middle Franks, as by Treaty of Verdun, fell to the Empire. The Archbishop of Treves became henceforth chancellor for Burgundian affairs. By the annexation of Burgundy, Cluny came within the boundaries of the Empire.

The chief aim of Conrad's policy was the aggrandizement of his family and the hereditary transmis-

sion of the royal power of his house. With this view he retained the dukedom of Franconia in his own hand, and bestowed Suabia and Bavaria on his son Henry, for whom he obtained the homage of the vassals and the royal crown, when Henry was still a boy.

Conrad II, while without any thorough education, was pious, generous in building and endowing churches, and procured the very best education for his son Henry. But he followed the policy of filling episcopal sees with political adherents and charging high prices for church appointments, thereby encouraging the evil practice of simony. Whilst the corruption of the higher clergy, as it prevailed in France and Lombardy, had not yet found its way into Germany, many abuses, especially violations of the law of celibacy, existed among the lower clergy.

Conrad's son Henry — *Henry III*, the Black (1039–1056) — was the first German king to succeed without opposition or rebellion. Unlike his father he combined high culture with practical wisdom; he was deeply pious, of an ascetical turn, and unrelenting in his resolution to suppress simony. Under him the Empire reached the zenith of its power. No emperor since Charles the Great was so powerful as Henry. He acquired Bohemia as an integral part of the Empire, which proved of great importance in the later history of Germany. By

two campaigns in Hungary and a great victory on the *Raab* (1044), he secured the throne to Peter, the nephew of St. Stephen, and Christianity to the country. In the same way he restored order and religion in Poland and among the Wends. Both Peter of Hungary and Casimir of Poland owed allegiance to Henry III.

Henry made two expeditions into Italy. During his stay there he restored to the Holy See the so-called Patrimony of St. Peter, and added new donations. He died at Goslar, his favorite city, 1056.

Henry IV (1056-1075).—Henry III had left his six-year-old son Henry under the double protection of the Empress-mother, Agnes, and St. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne. Dissatisfied with the weak regency of Agnes, the princes separated Henry from her and placed him under Anno's guardianship. Agnes retired to Rome (1064) where she led a pious life under the direction of St. Peter Damian, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. To comply with the wishes of the princes, Anno shared the administration of the kingdom and the education of the prince with Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, a powerful churchman of great ability but still greater ambition. During Anno's absence in Italy, Adalbert gained complete ascendancy over the prince and indulged him in his evil tastes. Bad company did the rest in corrupting Henry's character. He remained

throughout his long reign headstrong, irresolute, profligate, and utterly deficient in self-control. Henry was declared of age at fifteen, in 1065, and Adalbert, now the first man in the kingdom, inaugurated an administration of extravagance and extortion. All the later efforts of Anno to bring Henry to his senses failed.

In 1072 began the personal government of Henry IV. He was already hated and despised. The unworthy treatment of his wife, Bertha of Susa, disgusted the princes. His court at Goslar was the seat of the grossest license, of open simony, a veritable market of bishoprics and abbeys. Government degenerated into arbitrary rule. Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, was falsely accused of high treason, and his possessions devastated by the King. Magnus, Duke of Saxony, who received the fugitive Otto, was thrown into prison. The princes kept aloof from the King. The Saxons resented the burdens which the maintenance of the royal court at Goslar imposed on them. The imprisonment of the duke increased their excitement. Henry built strong castles on every hill-top of Saxony and Thuringia, and the lawless garrisons plundered and outraged the peasantry. These measures roused a rebellion such as the Empire had never seen before.

Long before Henry IV, the custom had been introduced in Germany, Lombardy, and France, of

putting the newly elected bishops and abbots in possession of royal or imperial fiefs, such as large estates, castles, towns, and counties, by giving them the pastoral ring and staff, the emblems of church jurisdiction. As this ceremony, called *investiture*, seemed to imply the bestowal of spiritual jurisdiction by temporal princes, it was, after due consideration, justly considered an encroachment on the rights of the Church. Thus the true meaning of investiture — transfer of fiefs and regalia — was perverted; investiture became a transfer of the church, of its property, of the pastoral care and jurisdiction,—everything in fine save the consecration. Under bad emperors or kings it opened the door to ambition, bribery, an indecent scramble for office, and the pest of simony.

Never was the traffic in benefices carried on more flagrantly than in the days of Henry IV. Ambitious churchmen offered enormous sums to obtain a bishopric or abbey. In order to reimburse themselves they later on sold the smaller benefices to the lower clergy. Naturally, this sinful traffic filled higher and lower offices with unworthy men, who, lost to the sense of their vocation, fell into sins of incontinence (concubinage). Thus a large number of the clergy not only defied a law which was binding in the Latin Church since the fifth century, but many defended these abuses as lawful customs.

The natural tendency of lay-investiture was to break up the unity and catholicity of the Church by nationalizing it in the different countries. The priesthood was in danger of becoming a caste holding benefices on a *secular*, and, under the influence of clerical marriages, on *hereditary* tenure.

That the supremacy of the law of the Church, the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal order, the unity and catholicity, the freedom and the holiness of the Church of Christ were vindicated among the new Teutonic nations, was under God's providence the work of the saintly and learned Pope *Gregory VII*. His pontificate was the turning point of the Middle Ages.

Gregory zealously and vigorously inveighed against the scandalous traffic in ecclesiastical dignities carried on by Henry IV. But his entreaties and expostulations were disregarded; and the Emperor, instead of amending his conduct, called the German bishops and abbots to a sham synod at Worms. Nearly all of them appeared and signed a document pronouncing the deposition of Gregory VII. There were a number of simonist and excommunicated bishops who really intended the object set out in the document. But the majority were intimidated. For shortly afterwards they sent letters to Gregory confessing their guilt and asking for penances, but pleading fear of death in extenuation. From

Worms a most insulting letter was addressed by "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by God's grace, to Hildebrand, henceforth no Pope but false monk." A simonist clerk laid the missive before the Lenten synod assembled at the Vatican. In the midst of the tumult which arose Gregory preserved an imperturbable calm, protected the messenger against harsh usage, and prorogued the meeting. The next day, in the presence of the Empress-mother Agnes, and with the full approval of the 110 Fathers of the Council, he passed sentence of excommunication upon Henry, and for the time being released all Christians from the oath of fealty which they had taken to him, according to the laws then prevailing in Church and State.

At the news of the sentence the princes in great number and a majority of the bishops met in diet at Tribur to elect a new king. It was owing to the instructions which the papal legates had received from Gregory VII, that an election was prevented and the crown preserved to Henry. An agreement was reached after long and earnest deliberations, by which the final decision was left in the hands of the Pope, who was to hear both parties next Candlemas at Augsburg. Henry perceived the gathering storm and saw no means of averting it but by seeking reconciliation with the Church. He, therefore, petitioned the Pope to receive him in Italy and ab-

solve him from the ban, promising full satisfaction. But Gregory answered him again and again that he was bound to stand by his promise to the German princes. Thereupon Henry resolved to obtain absolution at any cost. Late in December, 1076, he departed for Italy. Gregory had left Rome and advanced as far as Canossa, a castle of Lombardy, on his way to Germany. Here Henry appeared with a few followers, and performed his celebrated penance of three days, standing in the garb of a penitent in the inner court of the castle, promising satisfaction and imploring the grace of absolution. Gregory being under pledges to the German princes was loath to receive Henry in private and to decide the cause of one accused in the absence of his accusers. But the humility of the King and the entreaties of spiritual and temporal dignitaries who had flocked to Canossa, induced him to readmit the penitent King into the communion of the Church. Henry promised under oath to abide by the stipulations of Tribur, and to meet the Pope and the princes at Augsburg. Gregory then wrote to the German princes what had happened at Canossa, and that Henry was still bound and willing to answer their charges at Augsburg.

But the repentance of Henry was short-lived. Soon he again assumed the attitude of open hostility against the Pope and occupied the passes of the Alps

to prevent Gregory's journey to Augsburg. Hearing of Henry's double breach of plighted faith, the German princes, chiefly the Saxons and Suabians, met in diet at Forchheim, and elected Rudolph of Suabia King. Still, Henry remained master of the Empire, his rival having perished in a bloody battle on the Elster in Saxony, after three years of disputed succession.

Elated with success, Henry made four attempts to obtain possession of Rome. In 1084, with the help of traitors bribed by money and promises to betray the Pope, he succeeded in occupying a part of the city. Wibert, the excommunicated Bishop of Ravenna, who had been chosen Pope, a few years before, by a powerful schismatical party, under the name of Clement III, was enthroned by two excommunicated bishops, and in his turn crowned Henry Emperor. But their success was of short duration. Gregory, who had meanwhile defended himself in the Castle of St. Angelo, appealed to Robert Wiscard, the valiant leader of the Normans, for aid. Robert hastened to Rome and compelled the Emperor to retire with his anti-pope. The lawful Pontiff was thus left master of the city; but, as party strife rendered it unsafe for him to remain there, he withdrew to Salerno, where he became dangerously ill. There, on May 25, 1085, Gregory VII, the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, the

grandest figure in history, died with the memorable words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

Henry's later years were darkened by disgraceful revelations of his private life and by revolts of his sons. He was even forced to abdicate in 1105. The dethroned monarch retired to Liège, where he died shortly after. He had time to receive the last sacraments, having despatched a conciliatory letter to Pope Paschal II, 1106.

XII

THE FIRST CRUSADE

Since the days of the Redeemer pious Christians had made pilgrimages to Palestine, in order to visit the places where Christ had lived, taught, and suffered. When Constantine the Great and his mother, St. Helena, built a magnificent church over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the number of pious pilgrims coming from the four parts of the compass increased greatly. In 1072, the *Turks*, a barbarous people from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, captured Palestine. Notwithstanding the hardships of the journey and the sufferings they had to endure at the hands of the Mohammedans, people of all classes, rich and poor, barons, counts, and princes, undertook the pilgrimage. The conversion of Hungary opened a safe highway across Europe, and the pilgrims found a defender and a friend in St. Stephen, King of Hungary. Archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the Empire, accompanied by thousands of pilgrims, journeyed to the Holy Places. The sufferings of the faithful increased from year to year. The customary pilgrim's

tax was replaced by a system of extortion and robbery. Native Christians were despoiled of their property and reduced to extreme misery. The pilgrims saw the holiest mysteries of their faith desecrated by the infidels, the Patriarch of Jerusalem was dragged by his hair along the pavement and thrown into a dungeon. By hundreds and thousands, pilgrims went to the Holy Land, and returned by tens and units, to tell of the miseries which they had witnessed in the East. Pope Gregory VII had the intention of proceeding to Palestine at the head of a Christian army. His manifestoes went forth to the princes of Europe, many of whom were gained for the undertaking. But the contest which broke out about lay-investitures prevented the execution of the great design.

The sentiments of anger and shame at the indignities suffered by the Christians in the East found at last telling expression in the eloquent speeches of *Peter the Hermit*. Peter, a nobleman of Amiens, had chosen the life of a hermit in Picardy and had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Returning in 1093, he preached the cross with astonishing success in Italy, Germany, and France. A more powerful man, Pope *Urban II*, gave his whole support to the enterprise. In a great Council held on the Plains of Piacenza, attended by 4,000 of the clergy and 30,000 laymen, he addressed his first appeal to the

warriors of the West. But it was in the Council of Clermont that the glowing address of Urban II was greeted with the universal shout: "God wills it! God wills it!" Many thousands resolved forthwith to do battle for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Returned to their sees, the bishops preached the Crusade, and a universal movement began, comprehending in the ranks of Crusaders all orders of society — no age or condition of life was left out.

In the summer of 1096 the "army of the cross," under the leadership of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, Duke of Lower Lorraine, set out with about half a million men. The religious fervor of the Crusaders formed an excellent basis of discipline. The *Germans*, under Godfrey, and part of the French, took their way through Hungary and Bulgaria; the rest of the French and the Normans of Italy, across the Adriatic and through Epirus. In April, 1079, all had arrived at Constantinople, crossing the strait into Asia Minor. The sufferings of the Crusaders were terrible. The Turks held practically all of Asia Minor — devastated the country and burnt the granaries in order to starve the invading armies, and at opportune times they ambushed and cut off foraging parties. The withering heat, contagious diseases, and incredible privations reduced the pious war-

riors to dire straits. The toll for a day's journey was hundreds of human lives.

In the third year after the inception only 20,000 arrived near Jerusalem. The first view of the Holy City was the occasion for all the Crusaders to fall on their knees, and with sighs and tears of religious emotion they kissed the sacred ground. On June 13, began the regular siege of the city, accompanied by the usual sufferings of heat, thirst, and want of provisions. July 15, 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon was the third pilgrim and the first prince who sprang from a movable tower upon the city walls. The gates were thrown open, and the army, exasperated by the insults which the besieged had heaped upon their religion during the siege, were carried away to commit acts of excessive cruelty and unspeakable carnage, altogether out of keeping with the holiness of their cause. The Crusaders then put off their armor, and barefoot and clad in white garments, went in procession to the Holy Places and to the Church of the Sepulchre to thank God with feelings of penitence and humility for their success. The Crusaders chose their worthiest leader, Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem. But Godfrey refused to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and contented himself with the title of Duke and *Protector of the Holy Sepulchre*.

The holy wars greatly increased the influence of the authority of the Church in the person of the Roman Pontiffs, who were the authors and guiding spirits of these undertakings, considered by the Catholic nations a common affair of Christendom. The Popes kept alive the religious motives which inspired the first Crusaders; they infused a certain uniformity of action into these sacred enterprises; they placed the families, the property, the countries of the Crusaders under the protection of St. Peter, and defended them with the authority of the Holy See.

The work of the Crusaders is designated by contemporary writers as *opus Dei*, the work of God; their achievements are *gesta Dei*, deeds of God; they were to fight bravely for the cause of God. The Crusader affixed the cross to his shoulder in order that he might offer to Christ cross for cross and suffering for suffering, and that, by mortifying his desires, he might share with Him in the resurrection. In many Crusaders, no doubt, less worthy motives mingled with religious enthusiasm or were even the mainsprings of their actions; the spirit of adventure, worldly ambition, love of gain, luxury and vice, are seen side by side with Christian resignation, sincerest piety, and heroic virtues. In this the Crusades shared the fate of all human undertakings. Nevertheless, only in an age in which faith in

Christ and love of the Redeemer were living, powerful, and generally recognized springs of action, in which religious interests counted for the highest, were the Crusades possible. They are the grandest movements of the Middle Ages.

The Crusades established commercial interests in the East, thus laying the foundations for great opulence in numerous cities. Finally many serfs were accorded full personal freedom, for by a brief of the Pope, every slave who took part in a Crusade was free — and many thousands were enabled thus to obtain their liberty.

XIII

HENRY V

Henry V ascended the throne after the treacherous deposition and death of his father. Whilst he exhibited external deference to the Pope, he maintained the claim and practice of investing prelates with ring and staff. On the other hand, Paschal II in a number of synods upheld the prohibition of lay-investiture. But as long as the young King was occupied with domestic affairs and wars with Poland, Hungary, and Flanders — expeditions which earned him little glory — Paschal treated him with indulgence. In 1110, Henry appeared with a large army in Rome and began to treat with the Pope about his imperial coronation. Papal and royal representatives met and exchanged proposals. Paschal engaged to oblige the German prelates to hand back all fiefs and royalties to the King in return for Henry's renunciation of the right of investiture. This treaty was vigorously opposed by the German bishops and princes. Thereupon the King declared he would not renounce the right of investiture. The treaty being thus broken, before it was legally published,

Paschal refused to crown Henry V. The King at once ordered his soldiers to surround the Pope and his court in the very church of St. Peter, and to make them prisoners. Paschal was kept imprisoned for sixty-one days. During all this time he resisted the appeals of friend and foe to sacrifice the rights of the Church. But when menaced with harsher measures against the prisoners, with devastation of the Roman Church, and a general schism, he finally yielded to force. "For the peace and liberty of the Church I am forced to do what I would never have done to save my life." Rome opened her gates and Henry V was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's, 1111, the saddest coronation in the history of Rome.

A Roman synod, in the following year, rejected the privilege as obtained by force and uncanonical. The Council of Vienne excommunicated Henry. The ban was repeated by synods held in Jerusalem, Greece, Hungary, France, and Germany.

Having returned to Germany, Henry began a policy of persecution. Prelates faithful to the principles of reform were expelled, imperial bishops invested, the Archbishop-elect of Mayence and many princes, suspected of plots, thrown into dungeons, the episcopal city of Halberstadt destroyed. These measures together with Henry's harsh rule, the arbitrary disposition of hereditary fiefs, and the knowl-

edge of his excommunication led to a widespread defection in Germany.

In 1116, Henry again went to Rome. Since Paschal II as well as his successor Gelasius II fled before him, he had, before his return to Germany, one of his partisans, the Spanish bishop Burdinus, elected anti-pope by the votes of three schismatical cardinals. He assumed the name of Gregory VIII, but was soon forsaken by his own partisans.

Meanwhile the civil war between the Catholic and the schismatical party in Germany was renewed with increased bitterness and varied fortune. In 1121, a large Saxon army was standing face to face with the forces of Henry, who was besieging Mayence. Before it came to a battle both camps, alarmed at the consequences of the struggle, agreed to choose twelve princes on either side to deliberate on the means of arriving at a lasting peace between the Church and the State. The Emperor willingly or unwillingly accepted the proposal. The preliminaries were settled at Würzburg. Ambassadors went to Rome and legates arrived in Germany empowered to conclude a definite peace. The negotiations resulted at last in the *Concordat of Worms* (1122). By this the Pope agreed that in Germany the election of bishops should be held in the presence of the King or his representative, without simony or violence, and that the bishop-elect should then be invested by the King

with the sceptre as a symbol of the regalia. The Emperor, therefore, retained all his influence in the appointment to vacant dioceses, and as secular princes the bishops were responsible to him. The Concordat safeguarded the essential rights of the Church without infringing on the rights of the State.

XIV

THE HOHENSTAUFENS — FREDERICK I, BARBAROSSA

In a brilliant assembly of princes, held on both sides of the Rhine near Mayence, and in the presence of 60,000 knights, *Lothar* of Supplinburg, the most powerful noble in Germany, was chosen Roman King. Lothar had been fighting against Henry IV and Henry V for the freedom of the Church and the Gregorian Reform. Frederick II, Duke of Suabia, the grandson of Henry V, expected the election, but the princes had lost confidence in the Salian family, and feared a renewal of their policy. They also wished to insist on the elective character of the kingdom.

Lothar's most dangerous foes were the Hohenstaufen princes. The defeated candidate could not brook to see Lothar of Supplinburg in power, especially since he demanded the restoration of some crown domains in the possession of Frederick of Suabia. The Hohenstaufen party chose Frederick's brother, Conrad, as rival king. Assisted by his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, of Bavaria, Lothar reduced many castles of the Staufen party, and cap-

tured their strongholds, Nürnberg and Speyer. St. Bernard of Clairvaux brought about a final and sincere reconciliation in 1135. Lothar showed himself a generous victor, and left the Staufens in the possession of their fiefs. From the Pope he received the domains of the Countess Matilda as a fief, and thus laid the foundation of the strong position of the house of Welf (Guelph) in Central Europe. On his return from his second Italian expedition, Lothar died in the Alps of Tyrol (Breitenwang), 1137.

Lothar was as just, pious, and brave and as generous to the poor as he was powerful. He was not only a friend and patron of the Church, but a ruler who made himself respected by foreign princes as well as by the magnates of the Empire. Denmark, Bohemia, and Poland swore fealty to him; Hungary and Bohemia submitted their controversies to his decision. He strengthened Christianity among the Slavonic heathens by protecting the apostolic labors of St. Otto of Bamberg, the Apostle of the Pomeranians, and St. Norbert of Magdeburg. He established a king's peace in all Germany, such as the country had not seen since the days of Henry III. His name was long held dear in the memory of the people.

After Lothar's death his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, ruler of Saxony and Bavaria, the head of the Welfic House, aspired to the succession. But his

vast feudal domains, added to his hereditary possessions, made him disliked by all who feared a strong central power. Accordingly the nobles of Suabia and Franconia, in the absence of the Bavarians and Saxons, chose *Conrad*, the former opponent of Lothar, King of the Germans. It was the first time that a Welf confronted a Waibling, as the dukes of Suabia were called, in a royal election. This election, and the demand of Conrad that Henry the Proud should give up Saxony, led to a renewal of the civil war. Conrad placed Henry under the ban of the Empire, conferred Saxony on Albrecht the Bear, and soon after gave Bavaria to Leopold of Austria. Henry prevailed in Saxony until his death in 1139, and his brother Welf was defeated at Weinsberg in 1140. At Weinsberg there arose for the first time the war cry: "Here for the Welf! Here for the Waibling!" which was to be repeated on so many battlefields!

In the reconciliation at Frankfort, 1142, Henry, the brother and successor of Leopold of Austria, married Gertrude, the widow of Henry the Proud, and retained Bavaria. Henry the Lion, the young son of Henry the Proud, was acknowledged as duke of Saxony, and Albrecht the Bear received the margravate of Brandenburg as a fief of the crown. In 1147, Conrad and his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa, took the cross. After his return from Jerusalem

Conrad III never obtained real power in Germany; controversies without settlements, feuds without victories, filled the last years of his reign.

Frederick I, better known by his Italian surname *Barbarossa* (Redbeard), was almost unanimously chosen King after Conrad's death. As the Church had been the ideal of Gregory VII, the Holy Empire was the ideal of Barbarossa. It was, however, his misfortune that his closest advisers, educated in the law school of Bologna, instilled into his mind the idea of a State which resembled the despotism of the Byzantine Empire rather than the ideal of St. Leo III and Charles the Great. Frederick I looked upon the Empire as an universal monarchy, in which the absolute powers of the old Roman Emperors were granted to him immediately by God alone. He was willing enough to undertake the protection of the Church, but he insisted that the Pope, the prelates, and the entire clergy acknowledge his lordship over the Church and model their administration according to the dictates of his sovereign will.

Frederick's Expeditions to Italy.—Under his predecessors, the imperial authority in Italy had been almost entirely extinguished. The powerful Lombard cities paid little attention to the imperial orders. At the head of these disloyal cities was Milan. Its government treated the King's entreaties and threats with contempt. In order to restore and strengthen

his authority in Italy, Frederick crossed the Alps six times.

On his first expedition he was crowned, at Pavia, with the Iron Crown of Italy. Then he hastened to Rome to protect the Pope against the rebellious Romans, and was crowned Emperor by Adrian IV.

On his second expedition Frederick was determined to humble Milan. The city was put under the ban of the Empire, besieged, and forced to submit. Soon Milan rose again, and Frederick took most terrible revenge. The city was starved by a two years' siege into unconditional surrender, its walls, towers, and most of the public buildings were destroyed. Terror subdued the rest of the Lombard cities.

When, later on, protracted disputes arose between Frederick and the Pope, the Lombard cities formed a powerful league against the Emperor. They rebuilt the destroyed city of Milan, fortified it strongly, and gave it the name of Alessandria, in honor of Pope Alexander III, the acknowledged protector and adviser of the Lombard League. Barbarossa arrived in Lombardy, 1174, burnt Susa, took Asti, and then besieged Alessandria. The heroic defense of the city, and the approach of an army of the League forced the Emperor to retreat after an inglorious siege of six months. At Legnano he suffered a disastrous rout, in which he saved his own

life with difficulty. After this defeat he became reconciled with the Pope. The latter acted as intermediary to make peace with the Lombard cities. At Venice, Frederick I, after being absolved from excommunication, met Alexander III under the portals of St. Mark's. The Emperor, according to custom, kissed the feet of the great Pontiff, whom for eighteen years he had persecuted, and the Pope with tears of joy raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace. The terms of the Peace of Venice were: The imperial House acknowledges Alexander III as the lawful successor of St. Peter, guarantees the regalia of the Holy See, the restitution of all church property alienated during the conflict, and the restoration of all ecclesiastics who were expelled for their loyalty to Alexander III. The Pope promises true peace to the Emperor, the imperial House, and his vassals, and grants to the Emperor the revenues of the Matildan property for fifteen years. The Emperor grants a truce of six years to the Lombard League and a peace of fifteen years to Sicily. Minor differences were to be settled by arbitration. The Emperor gradually conceived a great veneration for the Pontiff and kept the promised peace to the end.

Frederick at Home.—During the Emperor's absence feudal disturbances had broken out in Germany. Frederick gradually established a general

peace, inflicting the severest punishments on the violators of public tranquillity and the vassals engaged in feudal warfare. Henry the Lion, the powerful Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was placed under the ban of the Empire and deprived of his dukedoms. Bavaria was given to Otto of *Wittelsbach*, whose descendants still rule there. Henry was allowed to retain his inherited possessions of Brunswick and Lüneburg. He became the ancestor of the Welfic House, now ruling in England.

At Mayence the Emperor held a brilliant diet. The princes and bishops, thousands of knights and an immense multitude of people assembled there. Minstrels extolled the valor and fidelity of the German heroes. Popular amusements and tournaments were held, Frederick himself taking part in the contests. His two eldest sons also distinguished themselves and were knighted by the Emperor in person. Long afterwards this gorgeous imperial feast was celebrated in ballads.

Frederick's Crusade and Death.—Jerusalem having again fallen into the hands of the Turks, Frederick, in spite of his advanced age, placed himself at the head of a crusade (Third Crusade). Accompanied by his son, Frederick of Suabia, he marched with 150,000 warriors to the Orient. In Asia Minor the aged Emperor scattered an army of 300,000 Seljuks at Philomelium and gained a second

great victory at Iconium, while Frederick of Suabia planted his banner on the walls of the city. Soon after, however, the Emperor met his death whilst attempting to swim the river Saleph. The army, deprived of its experienced leader, became utterly discouraged, and broke up into several bands. Frederick of Suabia led the larger portion to Antioch, where the mortal remains of the Emperor were buried before the altar of St. Peter.

The German people were not convinced that Frederick Barbarossa was really dead. Cherished legendary beliefs assigned him to the interior of the *Kyffhäuser* in Thuringia. There the Emperor, asleep, sits at a marble table, his head resting upon his arm. His beard is grown through the top and around the supports of the table. Over the summit of the mountain flutter noisy screeching rooks, one day to be scattered by an eagle. Frederick Barbarossa then will be awakened, the signal for Germany's rise and glory.

Since the restoration of the German Empire (1871) William I has been honored and sung as Barbarossa reawakened.

The Hohenstaufens reigned until 1254. Under the last of them the beginnings of a national culture began to appear. Latin had fallen into disuse, and German had become the prevailing written language. For the first time Germany felt that she was a na-

tion. This soon brought many Germans into opposition to the Church. In the conflict between the Papacy and the Empire, the former often seemed the opponent of nationalism, and bitterness was felt, not against the Church, but against its representative. The Germans still remained deeply religious, as evidenced by the famous mystics. The most valuable result of this strengthening of the national feeling was the conquest of what is now the eastern part of the German Empire. Henry I had sought to attain this end, but it was not until the thirteenth century that it was accomplished; largely by the energy of the Teutonic Order. The Marks of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, and Silesia were colonized by Germans in a manner that challenges admiration, and German influence advanced as far as the Gulf of Finland. The centers of German civilization in these districts were the Premonstratensian and Cistercian monasteries. This extraordinary success was won by Germans in an era when the imperial government seemed ready to go to pieces. It was the period of the *Great Interregnum* (1256-1273), during which Germany was without an Emperor. These were frightful times, rife with constant strife. The princes of the Empire made war on one another and the knights were locked in deadly feuds. Club law or the law of the strongest, highway robbery on a grand scale, general confusion were the char-

acteristics of this unhappy period. To make an end to this state of affairs, the prince-electors, in 1273, elected Count Rudolph of Habsburg King.

XV

THE PAPACY, THE BEACON TOWER OF THE NATIONS

Throughout Latin Christendom the Pope was considered the highest defender of right and justice, the father of the persecuted, of orphans and widows, the acknowledged arbitrator between kings and princes. The Decretals or Papal Laws were universally accepted as public law. The kings and princes, of their own accord, sought the papal confirmation of their laws, treaties, judicial sentences, settlements of territorial divisions, wills, donations or revocations of the same.

The Church alone had the power and authority to curb the passions of evil princes in the period of transition from barbarism to civilization. From the dawn of the Middle Ages public penances had not only spiritual but also temporal and civil effects. The Teutonic nations, from the time of their conversion, acknowledged it as a principle that a prince, while under public penance, was unfit to rule.

In course of time public penance was replaced by *excommunication*. The person excommunicated

became an outlaw by the public laws of his own country, unless he was reconciled with the Church within a year and a day. The sentence of excommunication pronounced by Pope or Council against an emperor or king was a purely ecclesiastical act wholly within the sphere of the Church, excluding the culprit from the visible membership of the Church. It was looked upon as monstrous that a prince excluded from the Church should rule over a Christian nation. The sentence of excommunication, in cases of confirmed obstinacy, could be followed by the further acts of deposition and the absolution of the subjects from the oath of allegiance, — acts which were not necessarily connected with excommunication. It was in the interest of the sovereigns themselves, and of human society, that such a judgment — for in such cases the Popes acted as judges, not merely as teachers — was left neither to the people, nor to the assembly of the nobles, nor to the national bishops, but to the Pope or to an international Council. In the hands of the Pope or of the Council this power was a safeguard against both despotism and rebellion.

The oath of allegiance was a promissory oath binding under the condition that the King discharged his sworn duties to the Church and to the people. When the subjects were in danger of being drawn into apostasy or schism by a forsworn king, the

Church, through the sentence of the Pope or a conciliary decree, absolved the people from further allegiance to him. The right of excommunication and the right of absolution from the oath of allegiance with all their temporal effects, were universally acknowledged as part of the public laws of the Middle Ages; the kings themselves confirmed by their dynastic laws this connection of spiritual censures with temporal effects. Excommunicated sovereigns like Henry IV and Henry V, might deny the justice of the application, but they granted the justice of the principle. Frederick II, at a later period, again and again solemnly acknowledged the right of the Pope to excommunicate him.

This indirect power of the Popes over the temporalities of princes did not derive its origin from any donation nor from the public laws of their age, but from the divine institution of the Primacy. The Popes knew that they could not exercise their spiritual authority in all matters of faith and morals (direct power) without extending it in certain cases to temporal affairs, so far as these involved questions of morality, the loss of souls, the presentation of spiritual interests, the correction of sinners, in one word, so far as they encroached upon religion and thus ceased to be purely temporal. The faith that was in Gregory VII is typical of the views of

all the great mediæval Popes. "Who does not know," he wrote to Bishop Hermann of Metz in the case of Henry IV, "what our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ has said in the Gospel: 'Thou art Peter, etc. . . . and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall also be bound in heaven, etc.' . . . Are the kings exempted from this rule? or do they not belong to the sheep whom the Son of God committed to St. Peter?"

The great struggle of Gregory VII and his successors was not waged for the material interests of the Holy See. Whatever success the Papacy won in this line, was of secondary importance. The victory of the Papacy was a triumph of conscience over brute force, of duty over passion, of right over wrong, in one word, the triumph of the supernatural and divine independence of the Church over the cunning and violence of her enemies. Had the secular power won the battle in this contest of principles, the Church of Christ would have lost her Charter of Liberty, handed down to her from the Cross and sealed with the Savior's blood; she would have been debased from the throne of a Queen to the position of a servant, a handmaid, the police power of the State, as all churches fared that ever separated from the center of unity, the Holy See. We owe it to the mighty leaders of this period, that

Rome remained to the present day the sanctuary of spiritual freedom, the bulwark of human dignity, and the imperishable beacon tower of Christian truth and morality.

XVI

KNIGHTHOOD

Since the ninth century mounted warriors became the rule in western Europe. For this reason only the rich could give military service, because horse and accoutrements were very dear. They were known as knights (*chevaliers, cavalieri, caballeros*).

These knights were the best and most skilled warriors and constituted the principal part of every armed force. Knighthood was the goal to which the ambition of every noble youth aspired. It was conferred only on the pious, the gallant, the modest, the virtuous, who had gone through a long probation.

At an early age the youth went into a training planned in the minutest detail. Usually at the age of twelve the boy was transferred by his parents to the castle of a prince or knight with a well-established reputation for order and discipline, to serve as page and to learn the military arts. With advancing age and experience the page was promoted to the position of an esquire or squire (*escuyer, knappe*), in which he had to accompany his master to the field as arm-bearer, to lead his war horse, to guard his banner

or his person, to relieve him when oppressed in the shock of battle, and to take charge of his captives. When he had proved the quality of his manhood he was finally dubbed knight at the age of twenty-one. The immediate preparation comprised a twenty-four hours' fast, a vigil, or night-watch, often before a statue of the Blessed Virgin, confession, and holy communion. Thereupon the candidate, being armed by knights or noble ladies, was led into church, chapel or hall, and received from his king or liege-lord the accolade, or stroke with the sword, by which he was knighted. His ideals were henceforth to be found in the service of Christ by leading a life of chastity and being ready with the sword, especially against the infidels who held His tomb; unswerving devotion to the king or liege, and fidelity to his chosen lady. This knightly gallantry, as long as it was based on the veneration of the "Lady of Ladies" and kept within reasonable bounds, created at once nobleness of sentiment, purity of morals, and elegance of manner. The laws of chivalry demanded that a true knight forget his own glory and publish only the lofty deeds of his companions in arms. The greatest insult that could be offered to a knight was to charge him with falsehood. If innocence, in the form of an oppressed woman or a helpless orphan, implored the aid of a knight, he was bound to respond to the

appeal. Indelible disgrace followed every offense against the weak or unarmed. A knight had to show courtesy, fair play, and gentleness even to his prisoners. As the education of the people was shaped by the example of the higher classes, the generous sentiments of chivalry spread by degrees through all ranks and mingled with the character of the European nations.

In times of peace the knights played and exercised the arts of war at so-called tournaments. These took place in a large open field surrounded by lists. On one of the stands were seated all the princes, knights and ladies of the realm. In radiant armor the contesting knights would enter the lists and charge each other with levelled lances. Unseating the opponent or breaking one's lance on his armor was enough to secure the victory in the bout. At the end the prize was awarded to the most valiant. One of the foremost ladies bestowed the helmet or sword or golden chain or a similar object upon the victor.

The flower of knight-errantry comprised the religious orders of knights, which were founded during the Crusades. The members of these orders made the vows of obedience, chastity, and personal poverty; besides, they took upon themselves the duty of protecting, and caring for, the pilgrims in the Holy Land, as well as defending the Church against

the infidels. There were three great orders: The Knights of St. John, the Knights Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. After the loss of the Holy Land the Teutonic Order undertook the conversion of the heathen Prussians.

In the course of time many knights lost sight of the dignity of their calling and lived on robbery and plunder. These knights were called robber-knights. From their strongholds on rivers and high roads they surprised the travelers and plundered the richly laden wagons of the merchants, whom they took to their dungeons or towers, asking a heavy ransom for their release. Of the merchant ships passing their fortified places an arbitrary toll was demanded. Also the peasant had a great deal to suffer from them, for in the frequent feuds among the knights themselves, his crops were often ruthlessly destroyed. Against these excesses there was no sufficient protection; in their strongholds on the high rocks or castles protected by swamps or waters, the knights defied all imperial commands.

In consequence of the invention of gun-powder the knights lost their power and gradually disappeared altogether.

XVII

BURGHER AND PEASANT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The first cities on the Rhine, Moselle, and Danube Rivers arose on the site of Roman settlements. Other cities grew up around the site of bishoprics, royal palaces, and the burghs of Henry I. As a defense against the enemy they were also surrounded by walls, towers, moats, and embankments; they resembled fortified *burghs* — therefore the inhabitants were called burghers.

Little inclined at first to settle in the cities, the Germans soon lost this abhorrence since the cities gave security against attacks and afforded manifold means of livelihood and much social intercourse and entertainment.

The wealth of the cities was founded upon industry and commerce, and the citizens strove to protect and increase both. Mechanics and tradesmen formed unions or guilds. To attain the title of master it was required to fashion a trial or masterpiece in the craft. In this manner a thoroughly competent set of master mechanics was educated.

As religion pervaded the whole life of the people

and sanctified all works of charity and usefulness, the guilds prescribed in their statutes the practice of social charity and religious observances. The Catholic *guild* system of the Middle Ages foresaw, and provided against, some of the worst evils of modern industrialism. It was a practical realization of the Christian idea of property, which is ownership in the sense of responsible stewardship. It upheld the true character of the Christian family. All apprentices, journeymen, and servants were treated as members of the family. It united employers and employed in a society bound together by corporate interests, and strong enough at once to control and to defend all classes of members instead of arraying them in opposite factions. It excluded the grinding competition of misery, incompetence, and low-priced inferiority. Religion, the active principle and bond of union in the guilds, reconciled the conflicting interests of all classes. In trade disputes resort to arbitration by the guild elders was compulsory before going into court. The guild regulations which made every Sunday and festival a holiday, and every Saturday and eve of a festival a half-holiday, and restricted the working hours from morning to the Angelus, gave all needed rest to the working man, and enabled him to execute artistic work which to-day we may admire but cannot imitate. Under this system all workers became intelligent "artisans,"

not "hands" performing the functions of a machine. A proletariat or working class of millions that can never rise, did not exist, because all individual workers could aspire to, and reach, a master's degree. The chances of rising for the poorest were increased by the fact that parents, however lowly or dependent, had the right to send their children to any school or university for free education. The town and country guilds had sufficient funds at their disposal to furnish loans, by which brethren in distress were enabled to tide over difficulties. These funds were derived from voluntary subscriptions, entrance fees, fines, gifts, legacies, lands and houses, which the guilds held and administered. They thus became the benefit societies of the period, and obviated pauperism in the Middle Ages.

The Religious Revolution of the sixteenth century crushed the whole system of guilds and replaced it by the degrading poor-law system and the evils of pauperism as distinguished from honorable poverty.

A new impetus was given to *commerce* by the Crusades, for new wares and merchandise were introduced. The ships on which the crusaders made their voyage to Palestine returned from the Orient heavily laden with linen, spices, and other wares. And these goods would then be shipped to all cities of Europe. Many cities reached a high degree of wealth and bought their full freedom; they acknowl-

edged the Emperor alone as their lord, and were called free cities.

At the time when the merchants had much to suffer at the hands of the robber-knights, the great commercial cities of Lübeck and Hamburg decided to defend themselves and entered into an alliance, which was called *Hansa*. Many other commercial cities joined them. At the time of its greatest strength more than one hundred cities belonged to the alliance. Later on, when the State took the care for the general safety into its hands, the Hanseatic League was gradually dissolved. Only Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck are left of this league as independent and free cities.

The *peasants* were the most sorely pressed class in the Middle Ages. Mostly serfs, obliged to till the lands of the overlord, they rendered various other services to him. By their taking part in the Crusades, many peasants became free men; others fled from the country into the cities, where, in the course of time, they became free citizens. Many landed proprietors gave freedom to their serfs as an inducement to stay with them; however, they were obliged to render moderate tributes and certain services to their masters.

XVIII

RUDOLPH I OF HABSBURG

Rudolph, elected king at Frankfort, was crowned with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle. After the coronation the princes of the Empire approached him, to be invested, according to usage, with their fiefs and regalia anew and to receive from his hand confirmation of their authority to rule over their lands and subjects. The emblem of this sovereignty was a sceptre. Having no sceptre at hand, Rudolph seized the crucifix before him, saying: "The cross, by which the world has been redeemed, surely can take the place of a sceptre."

When still a mere count, Rudolph was known for his sincere piety as well as for his warlike spirit and great vigor. Following the chase, one day, his party came across a priest carrying the Viaticum to a dying man over miry roads and torrents. Quickly descending from his steed Rudolph insisted upon the priest mounting it, the more speedily to reach the bedside of the dying man. When the priest returned the horse the next day, Rudolph would not receive it, unwilling to use any horse for the war or

chase which had carried the Body and Blood of our Lord, and consecrated it to the service of the Church.

In 1274, Rudolph was acknowledged by Gregory X as king of the Romans. The following year he promised the Pope, in a personal meeting at Lausanne, to accept the state of affairs in southern Italy as arranged between the Holy See and the House of Anjou. Later he renounced all legal rights in the Patrimony of St. Peter, and, upon the payment of a vast sum of money, granted perpetual liberty to Florence, Bologna, Lucca, and other cities, thus confirming the separation of Germany and Italy. In Germany he strengthened the power of the crown as well as of his own House. The refusal of King Ottokar II of Bohemia, who had greatly extended his territory during the Interregnum, to restore the annexed domains to the crown and to acknowledge Rudolph as king, led to the proclamation of the ban of the Empire against the king of Bohemia. Ottokar, defeated in a first expedition, 1276, rose a second time, but lost battle and life on the Marchfield, near Vienna, 1278. Rudolph occupied Bohemia and Moravia for Wenzel, the minor son of the fallen king, and bestowed Austria, Styria, and part of Krain, as fiefs of the Empire, on his own sons Rudolph and Albrecht, thus founding the Austrian power of the House of Habsburg. Whilst his arm did not reach to the northwestern regions, where the

princes still fought out their own feuds, he was indefatigable in storming castles and hanging robber-knights from their walls in Thuringia, on the Middle Rhine, and in southern Germany, until he had effected a complete pacification of these countries.

XIX

MAXIMILIAN I

The end Rudolph was striving for he was unable to attain, *viz.*, the election of his son Albrecht as his successor. The growing power of his House was causing uneasiness to the prince-electors; for the princes who formerly were considered imperial officials only, had become independent sovereigns and tried to preserve their independence. They were opposed to a powerful imperial dynasty and rarely allowed the crown to descend from father to son. Hence the emperors now following belonged to divers Houses: Adolph of Nassau (1292-1298), Albrecht I of Austria (1298-1308), Henry VII of Luxemburg (1308-1313), Frederick the Fair of Austria (1314-1330) and Ludwig the Bavarian (1314-1347), Charles IV of Bohemia-Luxemburg (1347-1378), his son Wenzel (1378-1400), Ruprecht of the Rhine (1400-1410) and Wenzel's brother Sigmund of Hungary (1410-1437).

Under *Ludwig the Bavarian* the old strife between the imperial and papal authorities broke out again. Pope John XXII asserted that no king

chosen by the electors could exercise authority before the Pope had given his approval. The German electors, on the other hand, in a meeting at Rense, A.D. 1338, declared that according to ancient custom a candidate chosen by all the electors, or by a majority, stood in no need of papal confirmation to administer the property and the rights of the kingdom and to bear the title of Roman King. This decree became a law of the land and bound the minority in future elections to submit to the choice of the majority. The contest entered into a new phase, when Ludwig, to increase the prestige of his House, dissolved "by the plenitude of imperial power" the marriage of Margaret of Carinthia and Tyrol with Prince John of Bohemia, and, disregarding the impediment of consanguinity, married the heiress to his son Ludwig of Brandenburg. Europe stood aghast at this invasion of the spiritual rights of the Church. The marriage exasperated the House of Luxemburg and the majority of the German nobles. Five of the seven electors, with the consent of Pope Clement VI, declared the throne vacant, deposed Ludwig because he had brought the realm to the brink of destruction, and elected Charles IV, the son of King John of Bohemia, 1346, who, after the death of Ludwig in 1347, was universally recognized as King of the Romans.

The victory of the Papacy was decisive on the sur-

face. Charles IV satisfied every demand of the papal court. The people gradually returned to their wonted obedience. But the authority of the Papacy was, nevertheless, injured by the bitterness with which John XXII and especially Clement VI had carried on the contest.

The first years of the reign of *Charles IV* were marked by famine, earthquakes, and a terrible pestilence, called the Black Death, which, arriving in Constantinople from Asia, 1347, spread over all Europe, and carried away more than one-third of its population. < After this time of general suffering the peaceful reign of Charles IV, for thirty years, was marked by the founding of numerous beneficial institutions, chiefly for Bohemia, but also for Germany. The University of Prague, the first in the German Empire, was a monument to the zeal of this cultured monarch. >

In 1355, Charles IV was crowned emperor by two cardinal deputies of the Pope. Upon his return to Germany the emperor published in the Diets of Nürnberg and Metz (1355-1356) the *Golden Bull*, which was the first attempt to put into writing the more important stipulations of the imperial constitution. Above all the Bull was intended to regulate the election of the king, and defined which princes should have the electoral vote. The electoral college was to consist of the seven princes who had

officiated at the election of Rudolph of Habsburg: the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves; the King of Bohemia, cup-bearer; the Duke of Saxony, marshal; the Margrave of Brandenburg, chamberlain; and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, seneschal of the empire. The three spiritual electors were chancellors respectively of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy. The electors were granted special privileges; besides royal rights (*regalia*) and those of taxation and coinage, they received the *privilegium de non evocando*, which deprived their subjects of the right to appeal to the Emperor. The royal authority was to find in the electors who were scattered throughout the Empire, a support against the many petty princes. The Bull is silent in respect to the share of the Pope in the election of the King; the one chosen by the majority of the electors was to be the King. Only the coronation of the Emperor was left to the Pope. The Golden Bull remained the most important part of the fundamental law of the Holy Roman Empire, and it gave to the German constitution a distinctly federal character.

About 1370, the *city-leagues* reached the height of their political power, especially the *Hansa*. Under Wenzel they suffered a setback, and it was not until 1500 that the free cities obtained the right of admission to the imperial diet.

In the fifteenth century the peasants, too, whose

advancement had been retarded, established their guilds. All these conflicting circumstances were accompanied by such religious disturbances as the simultaneous presence of three Popes (since 1409) and the teachings of Johann Hus. The Council of Constanz (1414-1418), called at the instigation of *Sigmund*, though it restored the ecclesiastical unity, did not satisfy the desire for a "reformation of the Church in head and members." The Hussitic Wars (1419-1436) revealed the defects of the imperial constitution, especially as to the military system, and to the desire for a reformation of the Church was added the cry for a reform in the Empire. Unfortunately, Emperor *Albrecht II* (1438-1440), a man full of vigor and favorably disposed to the Church, died before the completion of this work. His successor, *Frederick III* (1440-1493), neglected the affairs of the Empire, which, shaken internally, also suffered territorial losses: the Swiss Confederacy belonged but nominally to the Empire, in Italy and Burgundy its sovereignty had sunk into nothingness; Schleswig-Holstein, of its own accord, acknowledged Denmark as its sovereign (1460), the Poles annexed West Prussia, and the remnant of the Teutonic Order in East Prussia was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Polish king. Thus the Germanizing influences that had been at work for centuries in what is now the eastern part of the

German Empire were destroyed. In the West, at the expense of the Empire, the realm of Charles the Bold of Burgundy gradually but surely expanded, until his early death (1447) ended his ambitions. His daughter and heiress, who married Frederick's son Maximilian, brought him the greatest part of Burgundy, especially the Netherlands, as a dowry. By further marriage relations the sovereignty over the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary as well as the Spanish territories and Naples was acquired.

Maximilian I (1493–1519).—When Maximilian took the reins of government, the maxim “Might makes right” prevailed. He worked earnestly for a reform of the lawless and turbulent condition of the Empire. The right of private warfare was abolished and a perpetual peace established in the Diet of Worms, 1495. The Empire was divided into “circles,” or districts, with a view to the better maintenance of law and order. But the indispensable means of carrying out these laws, imperial taxation and an imperial army, though frequently promised, were persistently denied by the territorial princes. In 1495 the able counts of Wirtemberg (Württemberg) received the Countship of Suabia, which was raised to a duchy. Baden grew into a principality by degrees. More rapid was the development of Hesse, whose sovereigns, under the title of Landgraves, soon came into prominence.

Maximilian deserved well of the people for introducing the *postal service*. Up to that time messengers on horseback were used to despatch letters from one commercial city to the other, besides stage-coaches, which conveyed travelers and their baggage. Letters to places not enjoying any such postal service, as well as letters to foreign countries, were delivered when an opportunity offered itself or by special couriers. In France, at that time, the postal service had been established, and the *Count of Thurn and Taxis* now imitated the institution in the Tyrol. Maximilian appointed the count's son, Francis, postmaster general and first introduced mail service between Vienna and Brussels. Gradually the postal service was extended and organized.

One of Maximilian's favorite pastimes was the chase. Pursuing a chamois, one day, he climbed a steep precipice, called the "Martinswand." Suddenly, after a bold leap, he could go neither forwards nor backwards; above him the blue sky, below the dizzying depth. At his cries for help an immense multitude of people flocked together at the foot of the mountain. No one was able to help him. Two days he spent in this precarious position, until at last a young peasant boy, after many a dangerous leap, led him to safety.

XX

THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance ("New Learning"), which from Italy spread over the greater part of Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a revival of classical antiquity in learning, art, law, politics, and life.

The external events which gave rise to the Renaissance were the increasing influx of Greek scholars visiting the councils of Pisa, Constance, Basle, and Ferrara-Florence. The fall of Constantinople, with its dispersion of educated Hellenists, gave a fresh impulse to the study of ancient art and literature. The importation of numerous Greek manuscripts vastly increased the knowledge of classical antiquity, whilst the search for and discovery in European libraries of Latin authors unknown before, yielded a rich harvest. Greek scholars of eminence quickly made the schools of Italy famous by their teaching, and attracted students from all parts of Europe to Rome, Florence, and Naples, and other Italian cities of the new learning. This Renaissance of Literature was called *Humanism*,

and its votaries Humanists, or, more frequently, Poets.

The fathers of the older German Humanism were three pupils of Thomas à Kempis,—Rudolf Agricola, at Heidelberg and Worms (d. 1485), the greatest German schoolman of his century; Alexander Hegius, and Rudolf von Langen, all of them equally distinguished for learning, piety, and purity of morals. They were the most zealous revivers of classic literature on German soil. Though eager for refreshment and revival from the intellectual life of the ancients, and desirous of gaining a scientific knowledge of that life, their chief aim was to attain a fuller understanding of Christianity and the purification of morals. This standpoint of theirs was by no means a new one. In the first centuries of the Christian era, the Fathers of the Church had pursued and advocated the study of the ancient languages for the same reasons. In the schools of the Middle Ages also, to the thirteenth century, the classics had been diligently read. And now, after a long interval of degradation and barbarism, the leaders of the German Renaissance were endeavoring to take up the threads of this former period of classic culture. Now that, by the conquest of Constantinople, so many new treasures had been added to the already existing store, while the invention of printing greatly facilitated the spread of them, they

strove in every way both to get hold of the new knowledge themselves and to disseminate it among the people. They remained staunch supporters of the Church and never allowed their culture to lead them beyond the limit of Catholic teaching and practice.

We find all these characteristics of the older German Humanists strongly accentuated in Rudolf Agricola, the actual founder of the school. He had made himself a master of all the classical scholarship of his day. He was called a second Virgil. Even in Italy, where he spent a number of years, he was marvelled at for the fluency, correctness, and purity which he had acquired in the Latin language. So little did his classic studies render him indifferent to his own language, that he composed songs in German, which he was wont to sing to the accompaniment of the zither. He was a profound and thorough student of philosophy, and conversant with natural history and medicine. An ardent lover of his own country, he strove ever to strengthen the German nation in the consciousness of its own worth and importance. The contemporaries of Agricola speak with reverence of the blamelessness of his life, of his peaceable disposition, his modesty, affability, and childlike simplicity.

Jacob Wimpfeling, "the Educator of Germany," won universal renown for his grammatical, rhe-

torical, and educational writings, and labors. Dr. John Eck, the sturdy opponent of Luther, added to his vast classical erudition a profound knowledge of theology. Abbot Trithemius founded the Rhenish Literary Society, corresponded with all the learned men of Europe, and received with generous hospitality princes, nobles, prelates, and scholars who came to consult him or to study in his rich library. John of Dalberg, Bishop of Worms and Chancellor of the University of Heidelberg, stood at the head of a "Literary Sodality" comprising all Germany. In Nürnberg and Augsburg, the centres of Humanism in southern Germany, the patricians Pirkheimer and Peutinger gathered around them the élite of learned men. Among the great number of nuns and educated women the Nürnberg abbess, Charitas Pirkheimer, occupied the foremost rank. In these circles was studied, not only classical literature, but national poetry, history and antiquities, natural sciences, and especially astronomy. At Strassburg Sebastian Brandt wrote his "Ship of Fools," the greatest German literary work of the fifteenth century. To these men and women are due the development of the mother tongue and the years of intense intellectual activity which preceded the Religious Revolution.

Gradually two distinct schools of Humanism developed: the conservative, or Christian, and the

radical, or pagan, Renaissance. The former cultivated classical learning and style to the advancement and support of religion and Christianity; the latter adopted not only the style, but the sentiments and feelings, and the immorality and crimes of the heathen civilization were incorporated into the daily life of its votaries. Wanton attacks upon the Holy See, the Religious Orders, Catholic doctrines and practices, contempt for the learning of the Middle Ages and for their own mother tongue, and a worse than pagan immorality in their writings, characterize the great majority of this younger school of "poets."

Its founder and chief representative was Erasmus of Rotterdam. The extent and variety of his knowledge in almost every branch of contemporary learning, his untiring activity in all directions, his consummate mastery and artistic treatment of the Latin language, and the variety and richness of his style were equaled by few. He brought forth fresh editions of the Bible, of the Greek classics and Fathers, and original treatises in every branch of literature. But whilst he handled with masterly skill the weapons of scorn, irony, and malicious satire, he was altogether wanting in intellectual depth. He traveled through England, Italy, and France as a mere book-worm without eye or understanding for national life and character. His un-

blushing vanity, his moral versatility which enabled him to retain the friendship of More and Fisher in England, whilst it made him the idol of the vilest poets in Germany, his freedom in the use of calumny, his talent for fulsome flattery to obtain money and presents, matched only by his malignant spite against adversaries, destroyed all proportion between his literary achievements and his character. The chief followers of his school, who, when not fighting the theologians, devoted their energies to the composition of vapid verses and lewd poems, were Conrad Celtes, Eobanus Hesse, the "mighty toper," Crotus Rabianus, Conrad Rufus Mutian, the dissolute Ulric of Hutten, the knight-errant of Humanism, and a host of minor scribblers. Their school curriculum required the reading of the most profligate pagan poetry, and thus their young pupils lived in a reign of unrestrained license at Erfurt and other universities and schools.

XXI

THE GREAT INVENTION

There is no invention or intellectual achievement of which the German people have so much reason to be proud as that of printing, which has made them, as it were, new apostles of Christianity, disseminators of all knowledge, human and divine, and benefactors of all mankind.

Humanism, like all other literary undertakings, was powerfully promoted by Johann Gutenberg's invention of the printing press and the use of movable types.

As early as the year 1507, Jacob Wimpheling draws attention to the fact that nothing can give so good an idea of the activity and many-sidedness of German intellectual life at that period as the consideration of the rapid diffusion of the art of printing, which not only converted all the towns of Germany, great and small, into intellectual workshops, but also, by means of German printers, established itself in the course of a few years in Italy, France, Spain, and even in the far North.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Rome alone

counted no fewer than one hundred and ninety presses and twenty-three German printers; while throughout Italy generally there were over a hundred German printing establishments. It is to a German printer of Foligno, Johann Neumeister, from Mayence, that Italy owes the first edition of Dante's "*Divina Commedia*," published in 1472.

The "German art" was established in Budapest in 1473, in London in 1477, in Oxford in 1478, in Denmark in 1482, in Stockholm in 1483, in Moravia in 1486, and in Constantinople in 1490.

"As the apostles of Christianity went forth of old," says Wimpfeling, "so now the disciples of the great art go forth from Germany into all lands, and their printed books become heralds of the Gospel, preachers of truth and wisdom."

All the nobler minds of the age were anxious that this new art should not be regarded merely as an instrument for furthering personal profit, but as a fresh means of Christian evangelisation, so that, above all, good should accrue to the faith, and true wisdom and culture be advanced.

This view of the mission of the new invention made the most enlightened among the clergy become its most zealous protectors. In very many cases printing establishments were attached to monasteries. But the clergy were not content with giving nominal patronage and co-operation to the new art;

they also contributed material help by the purchase of its productions. Nearly the whole immense book supply of the fifteenth century in Germany aimed chiefly at satisfying the needs of the clergy, and only by their active participation was it possible for its influence to spread simultaneously and in all directions throughout the entire population.

The trade in books developed so rapidly that towards the close of the century it had covered nearly all civilized Europe. Many of the customs and technicalities still in use in the trade date from that period. Frankfort-on-the-Main was the centre of the world's book trade. The dealers met together at the annual fairs and festivals, there concluded business arrangements, made their purchases, and did everything to perfect the method of their trade.

Amongst the foremost publishers of the time was Franz Birckmann of Cologne, who did more than any others to promote the circulation of the intellectual products of Italy, France, and the Netherlands. With England especially his trade was so extensive that Erasmus writes from Canterbury in 1510: "Birckmann manages all the book traffic of this place."

But the activity in the book trade was not confined to the large cities only. In the smaller ones, also, much stirring life went on in this direction.

John Rynmann, of Oehringen, for instance, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, carried on large dealings both with foreign countries and with the upper and lower provinces of the Empire. Later on this same Rynmann removed to Augsburg, where he enlarged his business so as to include all branches of learning. Twelve other booksellers besides himself were established in this city.

From evidence of this sort we can form some idea of the immense extent of the book trade in Germany at the end of the Middle Ages.

"We Germans," writes Wimpheling in 1507, "practically control the whole intellectual market of civilized Europe; the books, however, which we bring to this market, are for the most part high-class works, tending to the honor of God, the salvation of souls, and the civilization of the people."

Highest amongst these works in Germany stood the holiest of all printed books, the Bible. During this whole century it well-nigh monopolised most of the printing presses of the West. The Vulgate had gone through nearly one hundred editions before the end of the century. Next to the Bible, the leading publishers of the day, themselves as a rule highly educated men and personal conductors of important literary enterprises, turned their attention to bringing out worthy editions of the Fathers of the Church and the old scholastics, as

also of the works of contemporary philosophers and theologians, and they were most particular with regard to faultless printing, beautiful type, and good paper.

Many of the publications of the first century after the invention of printing have been preserved to this day as masterpieces of the typographical art, and can no longer be equalled in beauty.

The extant collections of German writings of the fifteenth century make an extremely favorable impression of the culture of the period, and show how universal was the habit of reading among all classes.

Naturally those books which had the largest sale and widest circulation were oftenest produced. We can thus judge of the importance attributed by contemporaries to particular works, and of the influence of such works, by the measure of their reproduction; and it is no insignificant fact towards a right understanding of the times that the Bible reached more than one hundred editions (an edition usually consisting of one thousand copies), that a theological work by Johannes Heynlin, of Speyer, reached twenty editions between 1488 and 1500, the works of Wimpheling, thirty editions in twenty-five years, and the "Imitation of Christ," translated into different languages, no fewer than fifty-nine editions before the year 1500. There still exist at the present day copies of ten different editions of a

collection of German proverbs. An immense number of the books printed in the fifteenth century have entirely disappeared, having been either destroyed in the later religious and civil wars or lost through neglect. The number preserved, however, may be reckoned at over 30,000, many of them works of four, or more, folio volumes, a sign and the best proof of the intellectual work and activity of that period.

XXII

THE EVE OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

The eve of the Religious Revolution was a time replete with new departures, popular unrest, and permanent changes. The magnetic needle, probably discovered by the Chinese and used in the nautical compass since the thirteenth century in the East, since the beginning of the fourteenth in the West, materially advanced the discovery of new lands and routes of travel. Whilst the Gospel was carried to peoples unknown before, the stories of the returning discoverers stimulated the love of adventure and the greed of gold. Navigation and commerce assumed proportions never dreamt of in earlier times. The introduction of gunpowder in Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the gradual improvement of fire-arms, changed the conditions of warfare, led to the formation of standing armies, destroyed the knight service and chivalry, and aided the princes to triumph over the lower feudal nobility. The thousands slain in the battles of the Middle Ages were multiplied tenfold. The postal service rapidly spread the news of the stirring

times, the ideas, good and evil, of the new-learning, and the publications of the youthful press from country to country.

The general causes which prepared the way for the breach with the Church in the sixteenth century may be reduced to the weakening of the bonds of Catholic union and faith in the two preceding centuries. In Germany especially, a slackening of morals had gradually pervaded all classes, both of the laity and clergy, secular and regular, high and low. Whilst piety and love of learning still attracted the majority of the clergy, making them zealous to diffuse religious knowledge by catechetical teaching, sermons, instructive publications, and educational work in the elementary and middle schools, a none too small minority of other churchmen, banqueting, hunting, warfaring, and high-living prelates and worldly or ignorant clergymen scandalously neglected their sacred duties. The plurality of benefices, the frequent bestowal of ecclesiastical preferments on mere boys or youths not yet ordained, the pernicious rule of appointing younger sons of noble or princely families to the higher and highest posts in the Church, were at the root of the evil. The immense wealth of the Church — the clergy had and held nearly one-third of the realty — and the large payments made by German prelates to the Roman court, excited the greed of

the nobles. The many conflicts between bishops and cities about questions of jurisdiction and immunities assumed a more bitter character at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The city chronicles dwell with preference on the scandals connected with the clergy and often exaggerate them. Hence the cities were quick in joining the revolutionary movement started by Luther. Besides, earlier heresies had familiarized the people with a number of errors that were soon to be preached through one-half of Europe. Hus had attacked the hierarchy. John von Wesel, professor at the University of Erfurt (d. 1481), denied the authority of General Councils, oral tradition, the primacy of the Holy See, and other dogmas. Thus the way was prepared for a religious upheaval.

This mixture of good and evil was the more threatening to the Church because it was aggravated by political, social, and economic abuses.

Maximilian I had earnestly worked for a reform of the lawless and turbulent condition of the Empire which he had inherited from the weak Frederick III. The right of private warfare was, indeed, abolished and a perpetual public peace established at the Diet of Worms, 1495. The Empire was divided into "circles" or districts with a view to the better maintenance of law and order. But the indispensable means of carrying out these laws,

imperial taxation and an imperial army, though frequently promised, were persistently denied by the territorial princes. Thus, on the eve of the "Reformation," every description of outrage and violence went unpunished, and the Empire became a prey to anarchy and confusion.

In proportion as the princes and cities became powerful, the nobility or imperial knighthood fell lower and lower into ignorance, poverty, and highway robbery. Under the leadership of robber knights like Franz von Sickingen and the teachings of Ulrich von Hutten, numbers of highwaymen with a crest, who possessed little more than a castle or keep perched upon a rock and lived with their marauding troopers upon the booty of townsfolk, merchants, and travelers, were ready at any moment to break out into open rebellion.

The position of the peasants, too, grew much worse towards the end of the period, partly through their own extravagant living, partly through the exactions of the great merchant companies. But the chief causes of the wide-spread discontent of the peasantry were the new burdens imposed on them by the advice of the Roman jurists, the counsellors and seducers of princes and bishops. Agents of anarchy availed themselves of the general unrest of the masses. The poor citizens made common cause with the peasants. In all these ris-

ings, however, there was as yet no trace of the terrible excesses of the Peasants' War, when all the divers conspiracies of the lower classes received a common watchword in Luther's "Evangelical liberty."

But one would be wholly mistaken to assume that these abuses had become the rule of the Church. Never approving but always seeking the correction of them, the Church in no uncertain tones condemned all these abuses. In the advancement of the religious spirit of the fifteenth century, many prominent men, including Nicholas of Cusa, Brugman, Geiler of Kaysersberg, the "Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben," distinguished themselves. To correct economic inequalities the Church labored for the people by founding "*montes pietatis*," strove to advance Christian charity by encouraging almsgiving, founding hospitals, etc.; advanced the education of the people by a new system of public schools and doctrinal instructions from the pulpit. These methods of teaching and preaching were new to the fifteenth century and speedily attained a remarkable degree of development, bearing choice fruits of scholarship and holiness. The further we pursue our studies of the conditions of those times, the more we realize that superstition did not prevail in the religious life and there was not ignorance of theological subjects among the common people.

The Church's teaching on justification and indulgences, and the like, was familiar to all, and many made close study of the Holy Scriptures. In spite of worldliness and luxurious living, the period immediately preceding the Religious Revolution was characterized by deeply rooted piety manifesting itself in ways that will remain standards for all times. Mysticism, within and without the monastic orders, flourished; new devotions, like the Stations of the Cross, Devotion to the Holy Eucharist, the Rosary and other special Services in honor of Our Lady, bore testimony that many were striving for Christian perfection. Even where the opposition to Rome showed itself most bitter, it was never the intention of the people to place themselves outside the pale of the Church nor to found a religious institution independent of Rome. The step away from Rome was reserved for Luther, who opposed the authority of the Pope both theoretically and denied its teaching in his daily life.

XXIII

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

The external cause of the Religious Revolution of the sixteenth century, commonly called the "Reformation," was the publication of indulgences under Pope Leo X. The Pope had issued indulgences under the usual conditions of penance and contrition, to which was added that of contributing, according to the means of the donor, towards the building of new St. Peter's in Rome. The Archbishop of Mayence entrusted the publication of these indulgences to the Dominican *John Tetzel*, a worthy priest and sound theologian.

At that time there lived in Wittenberg *Martin Luther*, an Augustinian monk and Professor of Divinity at the newly erected university of that town. He was an indifferent scholar, but endowed with a strong natural eloquence, and a writer who handled his native language with singular force and popularity, and with no scruples as to the decencies of life. He thought out a new doctrine, the fundamental source of all his errors, which asserted the absolute corruption of human nature,

and a merely external justification to be obtained by strong faith, *i.e.*, trust in the merits of Christ. He thus based his hopes of salvation on a system which destroyed the spiritual powers of man, and ascribed the whole work of justification to God alone, without penance, moral improvement or any kind of co-operation save a blind trust on the part of man. His further assertion of the uselessness, nay sinfulness, of good works, and his denial of free-will, were but logical deductions from his fundamental error.

The preaching of the indulgence by Tetzel in the neighborhood of Wittenberg was seized by Luther as a welcome opportunity to give a wider publicity to his views. Accordingly, on the eve of All Saints, 1517, he affixed to the doors of the castle church of Wittenberg his famous 95 theses, in which he assailed not only the abuses really existing in some parts of the country, but the doctrine itself of indulgences, good works, and the spiritual power of the Roman Pontiff, and challenged all comers to disprove the correctness of his statements. The stories of Tetzel's selling indulgences, or attacking the reverence due to the Blessed Virgin, or appropriating moneys collected for his own use, are later inventions, refuted by Albrecht of Brandenburg, the magistrates of Halle, and Luther himself in a letter addressed to Tetzel. Luther attacked Tetzel

because the latter's doctrine clashed with his own heretical system. The theses spread rapidly through Europe; numerous pamphlets were written for and against them. Luther was at once magnified into a hero of reform. The princes disliked the exportation of German money. Many of the clergy were displeased with the temporary suspension of other indulgences. The common people were captivated by Luther's phrases, that "the real treasures of the Church were the poor." The Humanists were exuberant in their applause of the monk who dared single-handed to assail the Pope. Even some bishops and prelates were unsound in their views on indulgences, the papal power, etc. Very few, however, suspected the importance of the movement. The only partisans, as yet, of Luther's doctrinal system were his fellow professors at Wittenberg. Outside of the latter, not one theologian or canonist of repute taught that an indulgence could remit the guilt of sin. Real penitence, confession, and amendment of life were always considered essential conditions for gaining an indulgence, *i.e.*, a remission of *temporal* punishment due to sin. The doctrine that the gaining of an indulgence presupposed the state of grace, contrition and confession, respectively, was not only held at the universities, but occurs in the numerous sermons preserved from pre-Lutheran times, and was faithfully trans-

mitted to the laity who, apart from exceptional cases of extreme ignorance, were well instructed in regard to this matter.

The short but incisive refutation of Luther's theses by Dr. Eck led to a public disputation between the latter and Luther's friend, Carlstadt, in which Luther himself took part. It was held in Leipsic, in the presence of George, Duke of Saxony, and lasted nineteen days. Pressed by his antagonist, who was his superior both in learning and temper, Luther rejected the epistle of St. James, the primacy of the See of St. Peter, and the infallibility of General Councils, to which he had previously appealed. The victory was universally accorded to Eck. Luther himself owned his defeat.

The disputation on the one hand confirmed Duke George, the City and University of Leipsic, and many other learned Catholics in the old faith, on the other hand it exasperated Luther's pride, and impelled him to proclaim the Pope as the anti-christ, and himself as a true evangelist, commissioned by an immediate revelation to preach the new "gospel" as the only means of salvation.

Meanwhile all those who hoped to gain by a revolt against the Church or the State, covetous princes and their Roman jurists, the revolutionary knights of the Empire, poets and humanists, Bohemian Hussites, immoral clerics, monks tired of

their vows, disaffected peasants, however antagonistic their several interests might be, united in supporting the apostate monk of Wittenberg. Pious and serious men, who in the beginning had joined the movement, hoping that it might lead to a reformation of manners, withdrew from it, when they saw it directed not against abuses only, but likewise against revealed truths and divine institutions. Many of the German bishops had not a word to say in defense of the Christian revelation and the rights of the Church. Under these circumstances Luther, after the disputation of Leipsic, began to demolish what was left of the ecclesiastical fabric, the doctrine of the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of Mass, the hierarchy, the priesthood, and to set up an invisible church with a universal priesthood governed by evangelical liberty. In his inflammatory writings he called upon the Emperor and the nobles to secularize the cathedrals for the benefit of the younger-born nobles, to tear Germany from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome, to abolish the feudal supremacy of the Pope over Naples, to confiscate the States of the Church, and to wash their hands in the blood of the Cardinals and the Pope. After mature deliberation, Leo X, in July, 1520, issued a bull in which 41 of Luther's propositions were condemned, and he himself commanded to retract within sixty days under pain of

excommunication. Frederick, Elector of Saxony, confirmed in his protectorate of Luther by the advice of Erasmus, refused to receive the papal legate Aleander and paid no regard to the papal bull, whilst Luther published the most scurrilous attacks against the Holy See and finally burnt the papal bull and a copy of the canon law before the Elster gate of Wittenberg, thus openly declaring war against the Church and the whole Christian Past, December 10, 1520. The excommunication followed January 3, 1521.

The Diet of Worms.—Maximilian I, always a devout and staunch Catholic, died a most edifying death in 1519. The electors cast their votes for Charles I of Spain, as Emperor Charles V. Charles had inherited the Burgundian lands from his father, Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria (1506), the Kingdoms of Spain, Navarre, Naples, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, Oran in Africa, and Spanish America, from his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon (1516), and the Austrian possessions from his other grandfather, Maximilian I. Thus the Spanish monarchy became the greatest power of Europe for the century. At his coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle, 1520, Charles V swore to protect the Church and to maintain the rights of the Holy See. In a long and eventful reign he, on the whole, fairly kept his oath.

From Aix-la-Chapelle the Emperor-elect proceeded to the famous Diet of Worms, summoned to devise means for the restoration of religious peace. The princes favorable to Luther demanded a regular trial of the ex-friar before the Diet. The papal legate Aleander, a churchman of great virtue and learning, rightfully objected against this setting aside of a sentence already passed by the highest competent tribunal. The Emperor took a middle course and summoned Luther to the diet under a safe-conduct, not to dispute and to be judged, but to give an account of his books and prove his readiness to revoke his errors.

In a powerful speech of three hours Aleander clearly showed the assembled princes that Luther's proceedings threatened not only the stability of the Church, but the very existence of the Empire and the well-being of society. Luther acknowledged the books laid before him as his own, but refused to retract anything he had written. He would listen only to clear texts and arguments from Holy Writ. This position was unassailable because Luther accepted only his own interpretation as decisive and rejected books at his pleasure. Thereupon Charles V issued a decree which placed Luther under the ban of the Empire as an obstinate heretic and ordered his books to be burnt. The sentence was to take effect after the lapse of the twenty-one

days which his safe-conduct still allowed him. On retiring from Worms, Luther's party was apparently attacked by armed men in disguise, and Luther was conveyed to the Wartburg, a castle belonging to Frederick of Saxony. A great outcry at once rose among the friends of Luther, that the imperial safe-conduct had been violated, and the reformer foully murdered. But it soon leaked out that Frederick had arranged the abduction for the sake of protecting him against the consequences of the ban. Here Luther began the translation of the Bible into German, manipulating the text so as to fit his own tenets.

Meanwhile the seed sown by Luther began to bear fruit. In Erfurt his adherents sacked or burnt over sixty houses of the clergy, tore up legal documents, and destroyed whole libraries, 1521. At Wittenberg a storm was roused by Carlstadt, Nicholas Stork and his "prophets of Zwickau," who pretended to see visions, rebaptized those who had received the sacrament in their childhood, rejected Luther's "gospel" of salvation by faith alone, and founded a new Kingdom of God on the basis of absolute equality and communism of goods. The disturbers, assisted by the students of Wittenberg, broke sacred images, destroyed altars and confessionals, ransacked churches, and declared war against all learning, even against the elementary

schools. Luther hastened from the Wartburg, "to rap these visionaries on the snout," drove his opponents from Wittenberg, and restored some order.

The Social Revolution.—The disturbances at Erfurt and Wittenberg were but the forerunners of social upheavals on a large scale. In the first place the knights of the Empire banded together in large numbers under Francis of Sickingen and Ulric of Hutten "to make an opening for the gospel" of their friend Luther. This motto covered a long harbored plan to restore the power of the knights by the overthrow of the spiritual princes. This end accomplished, the secular princes were to be assailed in their turn. The first object of attack was the Archbishop of Treves, one of the energetic opponents of Luther. With an army of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse, Sickingen besieged Treves, counting upon a rising within the walls. But the citizens proved loyal to their Archbishop, and the city held out till some of the neighboring princes came to the rescue. Sickingen had to raise the siege, and retired to his castles, leaving the ruins of burnt churches, monasteries and villages in his wake, 1522.

The following year Sickingen again put an armed force in the field and raided parts of the Palatine territory. But a league of Rhenish princes besieged him in his own castle of Landstuhl. Here

Sickingen received his mortal wound, and died reconciled with the Church. His castles and those of his adherents were broken or burnt out by the league. Hutten fled into Switzerland and died friendless, a victim of his immoral life, 1523.

Hardly was the imperial knighthood defeated in its leaders, when a new and far greater danger arose to society from the lower orders. Preachers without number, unfrocked priests, and runaway monks proclaimed in most violent language the gospel of hatred, envy, and rebellion. Poor peasants allied themselves with the rabble of the cities and the scattered followers of Sickingen, formed "Evangelical Brotherhoods," "Christian Unions," and forced the better class of farmers and even nobles to join them, and the municipalities of infested towns to furnish them with arms and ammunition. They set up articles of the most revolutionary character, which all had to sign who fell into their power.

The inhuman and sacrilegious character of this rebellion is directly traceable to the Lutheran agitation. Luther had set up the most flagrant example of rebellion against God-given authority and existing institutions known in history. His pamphlets were full of appeals to the worst human passion; burning convents, plundering and slaying priests and bishops were declared by him to be acts not only pleasing to God, but necessary under pain of damna-

tion. He heaped calumnies and insults on the princes who closed their countries to his gospel, and hurled his invectives against the Emperor himself. His preachers and adherents, outside of Thuringia, were the chief speakers and leaders of the peasants. Thirty of the many circulating "Articles" were almost literally taken from his German writings; one of them declared Luther's enemies to be the peasants' enemies.

The rising began in 1524, near the Lake of Constance, spread over Suabia, and became general in the spring of the following year. It extended to Alsace, the countries of the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Main, and southward far into Austrian territory, involving the countries from the southern Alps almost to the Baltic in a general conflagration. The sacking of clergy-houses, the looting of churches, the breaking of images, and, worse still, the most horrible desecrations of the Blessed Sacrament were everywhere committed by the "Evangelical Brotherhoods." The Suabian League, under the command of the brave and energetic George Truchsess, defeated the peasants wherever it met them. Some of the most powerful princes purposely held back, to allow the peasants time for destroying the spiritual principalities, that they might afterwards step in and change them into secular domains. But finally self-defense forced

them to energetic action. In April, the League inflicted a decisive defeat on the peasants near Ulm. Gradually the peasants in the other parts of the Empire either surrendered or were crushed.

More than 1,000 castles and monasteries all over Germany lay in ashes. Contemporary writers estimate the number of slain at 130,000 to 150,000. Thousands were executed, or blinded, or had their hands and fingers chopped off. Hundreds of villages were burnt by the avenging troops, the fields untilled, the cost of living enormously raised. The country was filled with beggared widows and orphans. For centuries the peasantry were unable to regain the prosperity which they had enjoyed in the fifteenth century.

At the beginning of the outbreak Luther had published a pamphlet, in which he blamed the rising in language as yielding and conciliatory to the peasants as it was violent and insulting to the bishops and the Catholic princes. Only when it became evident that the princes would crush the rebellion, he savagely turned against the peasants and hounded on the princes in their work of blood. "Strike," said he to the princes, "strike, slay front and rear, nothing is more devilish than sedition. There must be no sleep, no patience, no mercy; they are the children of the devil."

The Making of Protestantism.—Protestantism

in Germany owed its firm establishment chiefly to its union with the territorial princes. The rising of the imperial knighthood in alliance with, and in the name of, the "gospel" had failed. The independence of the lower nobility was destroyed. The revolt of the peasants was overthrown and ended in the complete enslavement of the lower orders. The result of both victories was a great increase of power and independence for the territorial lords. The Emperor was now the only obstacle in the way of the princes to absolute independence. Hence the princes saw their interests identified with those of the religious rebels, who hated the Catholic Emperor as the official protector of the Church. On the other hand, Luther and Melanchthon and their friends bitterly felt the general demoralization, the breaking up of churches and schools, the abject poverty of the new preachers, and the contempt of all religion resulting from the Lutheran agitation. In this pressing necessity, the so-called Reformers threw themselves unconditionally into the arms of the territorial princes. Thus it happened that the doctrine of passive obedience to the princes and of the regulation of all church questions by the princes, became the principal dogma of Protestantism in Germany; in fact, hatred of Rome and submission to state or lay authority became the one distinctive mark of Protestantism in every country.

At the *Diet of Speyer*, 1529, the Catholic majority passed a decree that the Lutheran states were to grant toleration to Catholics, but might retain the new worship and church government, whilst the Edict of Worms should remain binding in the Catholic states, and that further innovations should be avoided till the assembly of a General Council. The Lutheran minority protested against the conciliatory enactment, and obtained by this act the essentially negative name of *Protestants*. They were unwilling either to grant the Catholics a liberty which they had won for themselves, or to forego the right which they claimed of continuing their war against the Church.

Causes of the Spread of Protestantism.—It was not any higher morality which attracted the different classes to the new gospel of the so-called reformers. On the contrary, their teaching gave ample scope to the inborn passions of human nature. The bold rebellion of the leaders and their catchwords of “independence of thought,” “Christian liberty,” “universal priesthood,” whilst flattering human pride, freed their adherents from the yoke of obedience. The doctrine of nature’s radical corruption, and of salvation by faith alone, allowed them to give full rein to their lower appetites. The masses were systematically deceived by the impassioned agitation, the popular eloquence, the appeals to their

prejudices and the later unscrupulous misrepresentations of Catholic teaching, carried on by the leaders in sermons, pamphlets, libels, and caricatures, in which the holiest things were dragged into the mire. The comfortable doctrine of the unfreedom of the will and the uselessness of good works swept away celibacy, monastic vows, fasting, confession, and many other duties irksome to human nature. The apostasy of kings and princes gave a powerful impulse to the propagation of heresy. The rulers saw at once the temporal advantages accruing to them from the new faith. It opened the door to a wholesale seizure of church property, to the confiscation of vast estates, and to the secularization of entire territories belonging to bishops and abbeys. At the same time it greatly increased their power over the people, since it allowed them supreme jurisdiction in all religious matters. In many countries it was mere brute force which compelled the subjects to adopt the religion of their ruler.

The Smalkaldic War.—In 1530, the Protestant princes of Germany, for mutual protection, formed the League of Smalkalden, a Protestant town of Thuringia. Luther and Melanchthon authorized the use of arms for the maintenance of Protestantism against the "Papists," including the Emperor. The Leaguers obliged themselves to stand by each other for six years in resisting the Emperor's edicts,

to support John of Saxony in his protest against Ferdinand's election, and to seek aid from France, England, Denmark, even Zápolya, Prince of Transylvania, in case they were summoned to appear before the imperial tribunal.

While the Emperor was fighting in foreign countries, the Smalkaldic League became a great power in Germany. The leaguers made treaties with foreign powers, secularized episcopal sees, overran Catholic neighbors with fire and sword, and defied with impunity the imperial diets and tribunals. Their foremost leader, Philip of Hesse, was firmly bound to the cause of Lutheranism by a decision of the Wittenberg theologians, which struck at the root of Christian morality. Philip had been married sixteen years to Christine, daughter of George of Saxony, and was the father of eight children. Luther, by a document signed by himself and four other theologians, allowed him to marry Margaret von der Saale in addition to his lawful wife. Margaret's own scruples against such a "marriage" had to be overcome by one of the "reformers." The unholy union was solemnized by the court preacher Melander (who had himself three living wives) in the presence of Melanchthon and other church and state delegates from Saxony.

On February 18, 1546, Luther died in his native city of Eisleben. His last years were embittered by

violent controversies with his colleagues, by the evil lives of his followers, and by terrors of conscience. His confessions are numerous that his work as a "reformation" was a hopeless failure. He often compared the piety of the people in papal times with the impiety displaying itself under the gospel. He declared "Wittenberg worse than Sodom." He continued, nevertheless, in his last works to rave against "the Popedom founded by the devil" and to appeal to the nation "to burn out the Jews with brimstone, pitch, and hell fire."

In 1547, at Mühlberg, the Emperor succeeded in completely scattering the Smalkad army. The league was dissolved. But the suppression of the league was followed by a conspiracy of Protestant princes, secretly headed by Maurice of Saxony, who posed as the Emperor's public ally. Apparently obeying imperial orders, he concluded in the name of the Protestant princes an offensive treaty with Henry II of France. This treaty handed over the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun to France and bound Henry II to invade Germany and to pay a large subsidy to the conspirators, 1551. Thus began a war in the name of "German liberty" and the "pure word of God," both against Catholics and Protestants loyal to the Emperor, which surpassed in cruelty and brutality even the Peasants' War. While the conspirators devastated hundreds

of monasteries, villages, and towns in Middle and Upper Germany, Henry II overran Lorraine, occupied Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and compelled the people to swear homage to the crown of France. At the same time the Turks, allied with Henry II and the German conspirators, entered from the southeast and became masters of Hungary and Transylvania, 1552.

Meanwhile Charles V implicitly trusted Maurice of Saxony, who during all this time of treachery continued to send messages of loyalty and "filial love" to his "greatest benefactor," until Maurice himself marched into the Tyrol, scattered the few troops of Charles, and drove the Emperor from Innsbruck. Retreating to Carinthia, Charles V left the continuation of the war in the hands of his brother, Ferdinand. Negotiations for a truce in political and religious matters, which should last until the assembling of a general diet, were begun at Passau, while the war of devastation went on. A defeat of the conspirators at Frankfort induced Maurice to accept Ferdinand's proposal for a pacification to be effected in a general diet.

The diet agreed upon met after many delays in Augsburg. The so-called "Religious Peace of Augsburg" became for the German people a source of unspeakable sufferings. Henceforth both Protestant and Catholic princes were guided by the

maxim: "*Cuius regio illius religio.*" The territorial ruler determines the faith of his subjects. Religious liberty was not only fettered but annihilated. Luther's principle of "passive obedience," the unconditional surrender of the subjects' most sacred rights of faith and conscience, to the rulings of princes, won a complete victory at Augsburg.

XXIV

EFFECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION — THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL

I

Effects on Public and Private Morality.— By corrupting and destroying the faith of Christ, the religious Revolution undermined to a great extent the basis of Christian morality, and severed the bonds of law, order, and discipline. Luther's own testimony suffices to establish this fact. "Men are nowadays more covetous, more hardhearted, more corrupt, more licentious and more wicked than of old under the Papacy." "As soon as our gospel began, decency and modesty were done away with and everybody wished to be perfectly free to do whatever he liked." "After one devil (popery) has been driven out of us, seven worse ones have come down upon us, as is the case with princes, lords, nobles, citizens, and peasants." "Drunkenness has now come down upon us like a deluge." "I have almost abandoned all hope for Germany, so universally has avarice, usury, tyranny, disunion, and the whole host of untruth, wickedness and

treachery, as well as disregard of the word of God, and the most unheard of ingratitude, taken possession of the nobility, the courts, the towns, and the villages." So Luther wrote, in 1541, when in the height of his triumph. A few months before his death he wrote to his wife: "Let us but fly from this Sodom! I will wander through the world and beg my bread from door to door rather than embitter and disturb my poor old last days by this spectacle of the disorder of Wittenberg, and the fruitlessness of my bitter toil in its service."

"In these latter times the world has taken to itself a boundless license. Very many are so unbridled as to throw off every bond of discipline, though at the same time they pretend that they have faith." "Never in the days of our fathers has there existed such gluttony as exists now and is daily on the increase" (Melancthon). "The people, as soon as they know how to attack our adversaries, believe that they are perfect Christians. Meanwhile there is nowhere to be seen modesty, charity, zeal or ardor for God's glory, and in consequence of our conduct God's holy name is everywhere subjected to horrible blasphemies" (Bucer). "Nobody cares to instruct his child, his servant, his maid, or any of his dependents in the word of God or His fear; and thus our young generation is the very worst that ever existed" (Althammer).

In proportion as the true faith was wantonly corrupted, the grossest forms of superstition took possession of the deserted field. Throughout his career Luther had constantly to do with the devil. He often fancied to see him and to dispute with him, he ascribed to him all his reverses, delivered to him all his enemies. He spoke, wrote, and preached of him, especially in his later years. He inflamed the public mind with all the phantoms and illusions of popular superstition, and advocated without mercy or discretion the most far-reaching persecution of supposed sorcerers and witches. Melancthon, Bucer, and other leaders of revolt shared the same superstitions. All mysterious or unexplained phenomena in nature and human life were ascribed to demoniac operations. The literature, books, pamphlets, periodicals of the times teem with lurid descriptions and gruesome particulars of possessions, conjurations, compacts with the devil and sorceries. The fearful delusions of witchcraft and witch persecution seized both Catholic and Protestant countries, but with a difference. In the period of 1520 to 1570, very few records of witch trials exist in Catholic countries, though there were very many in Protestant countries. While in the next fifty years some Catholic territories were relatively spared, the burning of witches raged in the Catholic dioceses of Treves, Bamberg, and Würz-

burg. In Treves, 368 persons were burnt in 22 towns and villages, in the territory of Bamberg 600, and in that of Würzburg, 900. In Lorraine, the Protestant judge Remegius, in the space of 15 years, sentenced 950 persons to death, whilst in the archdiocese of Cologne nobody was harmed. The famous Protestant jurist and judge Carpzov in electoral Saxony signed approximately 20,000 death sentences. Catholic princes, bishops, and abbots soon put a stop to the trials. The abbot of Swalbach sent his judge to the block. The first seven and most effective opponents of the superstition and of the trials were Catholics, foremost among them the Jesuit Frederick of Spee, who as confessor of the victims in Würzburg, had gained a practical insight into the iniquity of these trials. His "*Cautio criminalis*," published in 1631, gave the death-blow to these processes as far as Catholics were concerned. Many Protestant jurists and theologians fell into line and condemned the wicked procedures. The last witch burnt in Europe was a girl of 17 years, in the Protestant canton of Glarus, 1783.

The Religious Revolution destroyed the unity of Christendom in which the different nations of Catholic Europe had been united into one family. In this Christian Republic the law of Christ, the spiritual guidance of a common Father, and a re-

cognized code of international order, had ruled families, communities, guilds, and states. The Revolution severed all the bonds of law, order, discipline, loyalty, and patriotism, and put in their place violence, anarchy, treason, rebellion, regicide, and finally the Social Revolution. "The Reformation was a Revolution in its most terrible form." "By the ecclesiastical Revolution everything was called into question at one blow, first in the thoughts of men, and with incredible rapidity in all institutions, order and discipline" (Droysen). "The Reformation was the deepest source of all our evils; from that event date all our misfortunes. All the political impotence of Germany (from 1550 to 1850), the threatening revolutionary outbreaks, nearly all the dissensions of the last century have their real cause in the religious Revolution" (Böhmer in 1849). "The development of revolutionary State theories were the necessary, the inevitable consequences of the Reformation" (Leo).

II

The frightful demoralization of the Revolution period was by no means confined to the countries which had openly adopted Lutheranism, but entered and pervaded to a most alarming extent the Catholic territories, so that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Protestant Germany was hardly

confronted by a really Catholic Germany. There were grave reasons to fear that even Bavaria, Austria, and the spiritual principalities would be lost to the Church. In Austria, only one-eighth of the population was actively Catholic. The Catholic princes in the first half century of the Revolution were weak and helpless, and even the better ones too much engaged in warding off attacks to find time for building up. With a few honorable exceptions, the bishops, mostly younger sons of noble houses, were sunk in worldly pursuits and pleasures. In many dioceses the majority of the clergy openly violated the laws of celibacy. With celibacy the rest of the priestly duties were neglected, and the unfaithful shepherds, despised by the people, undermined their own authority and that of the Church. There was an enormous decrease in the number of aspirants to the priesthood. In the middle of the century 1,500 parishes, then much larger than now, were deprived of all pastoral care. Monasteries and universities shared the widespread corruption. The bad example of the superiors and the lack of proper pastoration was reflected in the general demoralization of the people. Under Catholic forms a latent Protestantism spread far and wide, and was more difficult to combat than open apostasy. Hence the Catholic revival was of necessity slow and gradual, not so effective in its earlier stages

as the indefatigable champions of the Catholic reform desired.

The Catholic revival was effected by the Papacy, the Council of Trent, the labors of apostolic men, the foundation of new Orders and Congregations, and a splendid array of contemporary and post-Tridentine Saints. The order that was to play the greatest part in the work of true reform and education and the conversion of heathen nations was the *Society of Jesus*, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola.

Ignatius (Don Inigo Lopes Ricalde y Loyola) was born in 1491 at Loyola, a castle in northern Spain. Having been wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, 1521, he left court and army, and retired to Manresa. Here he wrote the "Spiritual Exercises." After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he began his studies at the age of 33 in Alcala and Salamanca. At Paris, where he became Master of Philosophy, and finished his theological studies, he gathered his first companions around him,—Francis Xavier, Jacob Lainez, Lefèvre, and others, all young men, eminent for learning and piety. With these he laid the foundation of a new apostolic order in the church of Montmartre, near Paris, 1534. In 1540 Pope Paul III approved the order under the name of "Society of Jesus." Ignatius was chosen its first general, and, at the bidding of Paul III, wrote the

ten books of its Constitution. At his death, in 1556, the society numbered over 1,000 members in 100 houses, divided into 12 provinces. The society is ruled by a general, who is elected for life in the General Congregation, the legislative body of the order. A number of colleges and residences form a province, governed by a provincial. A number of provinces form an assistency, and have a representative or assistant near the general. The aim of the "Company of Jesus" expressed in its motto, "*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*," is to work for the honor of God and the salvation of men, and comprises, besides the ordinary labors of the apostolic ministry, home and foreign missions and the higher education of youth. The number of colleges conducted by the order gradually rose to 900 in Europe and the missionary countries. The first duty of a member is strict but rational obedience. The professed fathers add to the three vows common to all religious orders a special vow of obedience to the Holy See, by which they bind themselves to go unreservedly to any part of the world where the Pope may wish to send them. The Society of Jesus, the friars of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, the Lazarist missionaries, in addition to their reformatory work at home, have founded flourishing missions with millions of converted heathens in India, China, Japan, Western

Asia, Africa, and North and South America, and thus in a measure compensated the loss which the Church sustained in Europe through the Religious Revolution.

The *Council of Trent*, in 1545-1563, was convoked for "the propagation of the faith, the elevation of the Christian religion, the uprooting of heresies, the restoration of peace, the reformation of the clergy and the Christian populace, and the overthrow of the enemies of the Christian name." In its dogmatical chapters and canons, among other things, it declared Holy Writ *and* Tradition to be the norm of faith; vindicated the necessity of good works and the freedom of the human will against Luther's errors, and defined the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, of Transubstantiation, and the Real Presence, of the Mass as a true sacrifice, of the sufficiency of Holy Communion under one kind, of purgatory, indulgences, and the veneration of saints, relics and images.

The reformatory decrees enjoined the suppression of abuses, restricted ecclesiastical benefices, regulated the duties of the clergy, especially the duty of episcopal residence, episcopal visitation of churches and clerical celibacy; made excellent provision for the education of the clergy in diocesan seminaries, and ordained the holding of annual diocesan synods and triennial provincial councils.

Its immense importance is indicated by two effects. 1. It did away with all the fluctuations in doctrine which the Protestant controversy had induced. While its efforts failed to bring about a co-operation and reunion of the Protestants, its dogmatic decisions furnished the unerring basis on which every future reunion was to be effected. 2. It created a system of reforms, which, beginning at the court of Rome and working its way through all the grades of the hierarchy and priesthood to the Catholic people, became of the greatest importance. The faithful were again subjected to the discipline of the Church. Seminaries were founded, where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances. The bishops were strictly held to their duties, especially to the superintendence of the clergy. The bishops, from that to the present day, solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn, to observe the decrees of the Council of Trent and to submit to the Pope, whose primacy of jurisdiction, as instituted by Christ, was recognized by the universal church.

The decrees of the Council of Trent, confirmed by a bull of Pius IV, were, since 1564, accepted by the Catholic princes and ecclesiastical provinces of

Germany for their territories, and in 1566 by Maximilian II and the Diet of Augsburg for the empire.

The Catholic upbuilding received further aid from the protection of Catholic princes, who rightly deemed it their first duty to safeguard the true religion as the greatest boon to their peoples. To this class belonged Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III, archdukes and emperors of the House of Austria, Albert and Maximilian of Bavaria, and the spiritual electors and prince-bishops of Germany. Convinced of the truth of Catholicity and authorized by the natural and canon laws, they had a legal right to apply the maxim of the Religious Peace of Augsburg: *Cuius regio illius religio*, and to remove the disturbers of the religious peace from their territories. In this they did but what all the Protestant princes practiced, with this difference, however, that the latter involved themselves in a manifest contradiction. For whilst they posed as champions of individual liberty, and private interpretation, they nevertheless forced their subjects to accept their own creeds.

XXV

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR 1618-1648

The war that ravaged Germany for thirty years was a religious and political war affecting the vital interests of Germany; but, nurtured by foreign nations, it rapidly took on the guise of a decidedly political war and in its effects assumed more and more a European character.

Ever since 1555, the Protestants had been violating the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Calvinism, introduced by Palsgrave Frederick III, destroyed everything Catholic in churches and monasteries with ruthless barbarity. Thus the Germans were divided into three parties: the aggressive Calvinist party, supported by a few Lutheran princes; the defensive Catholic party, led by the Dukes of Bavaria, and a middle class comprising the majority of the Lutherans, who were loyal to the Emperor, led by John George, Elector of Saxony.

While the Protestants became more and more divided in doctrine, religious zeal was rekindled among the Catholics. The publication of the de-

crees of the Council of Trent, numerous popular missions, and the truly reformatory work of the Capuchins, a new branch of Franciscans, and the Jesuits, inspired the people with a fresh fervor. Peter Canisius, by his work in the diets, in the pulpit, in the university chairs, and by his Catechism and other religious publications, earned the name of a second Apostle of Germany. While in Protestant Germany public education sank to the lowest level, Jesuit colleges were founded in the principal cities, and by their high efficiency, order, and discipline, attracted not only Catholic, but Protestant parents and children. The German College in Rome, and the new seminaries founded in accordance with the Tridentine decrees, supplied the bishops with exemplary priests. Not only was the spread of Protestantism arrested before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, but the Catholic faith was fully restored in the Austrian countries of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in the territory of Würzburg, in Westphalia, in the Duchy of Cleves, and partially in the dioceses of Augsburg and Salzburg. Three renowned Bavarian dukes, Albrecht V, William V, and Maximilian, and the pious Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, were the chief promoters of the Catholic restoration in Germany and Austria. With the end of the century the destructive advance of Lutheranism and Calvinism stopped. The "Reformation

had spent itself as a living force." Zeal, devotion, learning, self-sacrifice, religious enthusiasm, were all on the side of the Church.

The immediate successors of Charles V were not strong enough to check the advance of Protestantism or to exercise a decisive influence on the conflict of parties. At the time of the accession of *Ferdinand I* (1556–1564), the empire was in a sad state; indeed it had been going backwards rather than forwards in all good things since the time of Frederick Barbarossa. The Emperor was a sincere Catholic, a great peace-maker, yet firm in upholding the Ecclesiastical Reservation in the German diets. Unfortunately, he was chiefly occupied in defending the Hungarian frontiers against Turkish invasions. At his death he divided all the countries over which he held dominion among his sons, thus founding an Austrian Line of Habsburg (Austria, Bohemia, Hungary), a Tyrolese Line (The Tyrol and possessions in Suabia and Alsace), and a Styrian Line (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, etc.).

Maximilian II (1564–1576) was as weak as he was insincere, a Catholic with Catholics, a Protestant at heart, took no steps to prevent violations of the Peace of Augsburg in Germany, and in his own countries he greatly favored the Protestants.

Still more unfortunate was the reign of his son *Rudolf II* (1576–1612). He was a scholar, loved

sciences and arts, dabbled in alchemy and astronomy, but had so wavering and suspicious a temper that the performance of his official duties became at times an unbearable burden to him. The reaction in favor of Catholicism which set in during his reign, though not through his agency, made him many enemies among the German Calvinists, while his inactivity in a new Turkish war dissatisfied the people of his hereditary lands.

Matthias (1612–1619), Rudolf's brother, was as powerless as his predecessors. The *Evangelical Union*, which had been founded in 1608 to obtain by force what the diets had refused to grant, and whose chief promoters were Henry IV of France, in his desire to destroy the House of Habsburg, and his Germany confidant, the diplomatic Christian of Anhalt, openly avowed its intention of transferring, at the next election, the imperial dignity to another House. To prevent the consummation of this plan, the childless Matthias adopted Archduke Ferdinand of Styria and proposed him as his successor to the Bohemian estates. Notwithstanding some opposition, Archduke Ferdinand was unanimously accepted as Bohemia's future king and solemnly crowned with the crown of St. Wenzel, in 1617. The following year he received the crown of St. Stephen in Pressburg, the capital of Hungary.

The Bohemian and Palatine Wars.—In 1609,

Rudolf II, as King of Bohemia, had issued a Royal Charter granting freedom of conscience to all subjects, reserving the right of building churches to the territorial lords of the three estates. Several years later Protestant subjects living under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical lords, in violation of the Royal Charter, built two Protestant churches, one in the territory of the Archbishop of Prague, the other in that of the abbot of Braunau. In consequence of legal proceedings the former was demolished, the latter closed, in 1619. This caused general embitterment among the Protestants. Their armed envoys invaded the royal castle at Prague and threw two imperial councillors together with a private secretary out of the window into the moat surrounding the castle. As the Emperor could not suffer such insult to his representatives to go unpunished, the Bohemian Protestants armed themselves and chose the leader of their nobility, Count Thurn, as commander-in-chief of the army to be levied against the Emperor; the Union reinforced the rebels with 2,000 men under the command of Ernest of Mansfield, a deserter and adventurer, who soon came to be known as the "curse of Germany." Whilst John George of Saxony tried to mediate, and Maximilian of Bavaria revived the Catholic Liga, Matthias died in March, 1619, and *Ferdinand II* became King of Bohemia. At the diet of Frankfort, August 28,

1619, he was chosen Emperor by unanimous vote. The Protestants, however, refused to acknowledge him as King of Bohemia, and chose Palsgrave *Fredrick V*, head of the Union, King of Bohemia. With great pomp he was crowned at Prague; but in Bohemia he soon became unpopular by his dissolute life and his forcible introduction of Calvinism, and his rule was not to last very long. Maximilian of Bavaria, the mightiest Catholic prince of Germany, irreproachably pure in his private and public life, cooperated with Ferdinand, entrusting the command of the army of the Liga to his great general, *Tilly*. The latter, a conqueror in thirty-six battles, was cautious in his plans, prompt in execution, and brave in the conflict. In all dangers of camp and campaign he was a model of piety, chastity, and temperance. His troops were the best disciplined in the war; his soldiers used to call him "Father John." In his campaigns in Protestant countries he used to protect the churches with his own guard against any violation. He was undoubtedly the purest and noblest character in the tragedy of the Thirty Years' War.

Maximilian and Tilly entered Bohemia, took city after city, and marched upon Prague. The enemy was drawn up on an eminence outside the walls, called the White Hill. Here, in 1620, the army of the Liga completely defeated the Bohemians. Fred-

erick fled into Holland. As he had ruled for one winter only, he was mockingly surnamed the "Winter King." After the battle Bohemia with its crownlands submitted to the Emperor, the Catholic religion was restored, the Evangelical Union broken up, and twenty-seven insurrectionary leaders were executed. Before another generation Bohemia was definitely ranged among the Catholic countries of Europe.

Frederick's allies, Mansfield, Christian of Brunswick, better known as Christian of Halberstadt, and the Margrave of Baden, continued the war in the *Palatinate*. But they were defeated by Tilly in the battles of Giessen (1621), Wimpfen, Höchst (1622), and Stadtlohn (1623). The electorship was transferred from the outlawed Palsgrave to Maximilian of Bavaria. The new elector received the Upper Palatinate as security for his expenses.

The Danish War.—The war was renewed when King *Christian IV* of *Denmark*, as Duke of Holstein a prince of the Lower Saxon circle, sought to secure some German bishoprics, dominion over the mouths of the German rivers, and the command of the North Sea. While his agents represented the conflict to the common people as a religious war, his own aim was chiefly conquest. He had concluded an alliance, in 1625, with England, Holland, and a number of the Lower Saxon princes, France

paying subsidies to him without openly joining the League.

The army of the League, under Tilly, was not strong enough to oppose the coalition of foreign and domestic enemies. The Emperor's treasury was empty. In these straits, Albrecht of *Wallenstein*, Duke of Friedland in Bohemia, offered to levy and support an army on condition that he be given chief command. Ferdinand accepted the offer. In a few months Wallenstein had collected an army of 30,000 men. At *Dessau* (1626) he was met by Mansfield. The latter, however, was completely routed. He fled into Hungary intending to join Bethlen Gábor, who had risen against the Emperor. Wallenstein followed him in an inner circle covering Vienna. Bethlen Gábor, too weak to cope with Wallenstein's numbers, sued for peace and obliged Mansfield to leave Hungary. The great marauder, who by his total want of morality and patriotism had been the worst foe to the peace of Germany, passed away on his way to Venice.

Meanwhile the forces of the League, reinforced by 8,000 men of Wallenstein's army, had achieved a still greater success on the Weser. Tilly overtook and defeated the Danes at *Lutter*. Thereupon he joined Wallenstein, who had returned from Hungary, and with him attacked the territory of the King of Denmark. Holstein, Schleswig, and Jut-

land were conquered. By the Peace of Lübeck (1629) Christian received back all his hereditary possessions, but renounced for himself and his son all claim to the coveted German bishoprics and promised to meddle no further with German affairs.

Two months before this peace was signed, March, 1629, the Emperor had issued the *Edict of Restitution*, by which Protestant princes were ordered to restore the bishoprics, monasteries, and other church foundations seized in violation of the Religious Peace of Augsburg. While there can be no question as to the legality of the measure, Ferdinand keeping strictly within the Peace of Augsburg, the measure naturally roused the most bitter opposition among the Protestants and made a continuation of the war inevitable.

At the *Diet of Ratisbon* (1630) so many complaints were raised against Wallenstein and his army, that the Emperor was compelled to dismiss him. With apparent indifference Wallenstein retired into private life, setting up a kingly household in his duchy of Friedland, with revenge in his heart.

The Swedish War (1630-1635).—The weakness of the empire resulting from the retirement of Wallenstein was cleverly taken advantage of by *Gustavus Adolphus II*, King of Sweden. Ever since the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus

Adolphus had been watching for an opportunity to enter the struggle as the independent leader of a Protestant army. In 1626, he took the town and harbor of Pillau, in ducal Prussia, without a declaration of war. In 1628, Stralsund opened its gates to his garrison. His own safety was bound up with Protestantism, as it was only the strength of Protestantism which secured him against the just hereditary claims of his cousin, the Catholic King of Poland. To extend his dominion to both shores of the Baltic, to weld the Protestant territories of Germany into a *corpus evangelicum* under his leadership, to subject the Catholic territories of Middle Germany to his own scepter, and thus to found a great Protestant Empire of the North, was the dream of his soaring ambition. During his reign Catholicity in Sweden was punished with death.

On July 4, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of 15,000 tried soldiers, landed without a declaration of war on the coast of Pomerania, which Wallenstein had left without protection; 30,000 more stood ready as a reserve in Sweden. The King forced the aged duke of Pomerania to sign a treaty which gave Pomerania forever into the power of Sweden at the expense of the lawful heir, the elector of Brandenburg.

Soon after, *Richelieu*, the all-powerful French minister, in his efforts to permanently weaken the

House of Habsburg, concluded with Gustavus the *Treaty of Bärwalde*, by which France was to pay an annual subsidy of one million francs to the King of Sweden.

In the spring of 1631, Tilly opened the campaign. His plan was to force the Swedes to a decisive battle; Gustavus's plan, to tire out Tilly's army by marches and countermarches. New Brandenburg, taken by the Swedes, was retaken by Tilly. Called away, however, by Maximilian to join General Pappenheim in the siege of *Magdeburg*, Tilly had to give free scope to Gustavus, who captured Frankfort on the Oder. *Magdeburg* was, at this stage of the war, the most important fortress by its strength and position. Tilly stormed the city on May 20, after a siege of several months, and after he had three times offered terms of capitulation. Falkenberg, a marshal of Gustavus Adolphus, had the supreme direction of the defense. During the time of the sacking of the city, which Tilly cut down to an hour and a half instead of three hours allowed by the right of war then existing, a great conflagration suddenly broke forth. The greatest part of *Magdeburg* was burned to the ground. The evidence that the defenders themselves caused the destruction of the city is overwhelming. All the eyewitnesses of the catastrophe agree in this. The destruction of *Magdeburg* was a great disadvantage

to Tilly, since through it he lost an almost insurmountable obstacle in the foreign invader's way.

Soon after, Tilly saw himself confronted by the superior numbers of the enemy at *Breitenfeld*, near Leipsic. After a fiercely contested battle he was defeated. This battle at one blow destroyed the work of the preceding ten years, crippled the imperial power, rent asunder Germany's political unity, and destroyed her national spirit by making a foreign king, paid by another foreign king, the hero of the Protestant half of the country.

In the spring of 1631, on the *Lech*, not far from its mouth, Gustavus encountered and defeated Tilly a second time. Here the Catholic hero, betrayed and left to his fate by the reappointment of Wallenstein, received his mortal wound. His army was scattered.

All Germany was now at the feet of Gustavus, save the Austrian countries. In his straits the Emperor had recourse to Wallenstein. Before long the "Duke of Friedland," who had carried on secret negotiations with Gustavus and Richelieu, had organized an army and forced the enemy to evacuate Bavaria. At *Lützen* a terrible battle was fought, in which the Swedish conqueror fell mortally wounded. At nightfall the imperial forces, short of provisions, withdrew to Leipsic. The Swedes were in possession of the battlefield till morning and

on this account claimed the victory of Lützen.

Wallenstein, after this battle, withdrew into Bohemia, where he remained for the most part inactive. He even treacherously began negotiations with France, in order to gain the crown of Bohemia. In February, 1634, an imperial patent publicly charged him and his adherents with high treason and ordered the army to obey Gallas, Piccolomini, and other loyal generals. When Wallenstein saw that the majority of the army would remain loyal to the Emperor, he marched with a small detachment to Eger, to join the Swedes approaching under Bernard of Weimar. There a few officers, Gordon, Butler, and Leslie, resolved to prevent the accomplishment of Wallenstein's treason by slaying him and his chief supporters. The leading conspirators were assassinated at a banquet in the castle of Eger, while Wallenstein himself was pierced with a halberd by Captain Devereaux of the Irish Dragoons at his lodgings in the town.

The Franco-Swedish Period of the War.—Chiefly through the fault of France, the war continued fourteen years longer. Up to this time France had been helping the enemies of the Emperor financially; now she also sent her army into unfortunate Germany. The war was waged no longer for religious principles and motives, but for booty. France sought the German provinces on the

Rhine, especially Alsace. Sweden desired to extend its territory on the Baltic. The French fanned the flames of discord among the Germans and encouraged the Swedes to continue the strife.

The Swedes won their first decisive advantage after their rout at Nördlingen in the bloody battle of *Wittstock*, in which they inflicted the heaviest defeat of the war on the united imperial and Saxon armies, 1636. Famine and pestilence materially aided the Swedes to reduce Saxony to a desert. Horrible as the war had been from its commencement, it was every day assuming a more repulsive character. On both sides all traces of discipline had vanished in the dealings of the armies with the inhabitants of the countries in which they were quartered. The Swedes, however, outstripped all others in fiendish excesses. Their cruelty became a by-word in Germany.

Ferdinand II died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son, *Ferdinand III* (1637-1657), King of Hungary, who the year before had been chosen King of the Romans. He resembled his father in his Catholic piety, the purity of his family life, and his sincere desire for peace. By putting an end to his father's unreasonable expenditures, he greatly improved the financial administration of the government. His economy alone enabled him to continue a war which was brutally forced upon him by

France and Sweden. Together with the Swedes, the French made an attack on Bavaria and devastated the latter country. A Swedish general invaded Bohemia and took a fortified suburb of Prague. The final objective of the allied campaign was Vienna. The invaders were interrupted in their operations by the news that the peace had been signed at Osnabrück and Münster. Thus the war ended where it had begun.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648).—The principal stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia were as follows: The Religious Peace of Augsburg was confirmed; France obtained as much of Alsace as belonged to Austria; Sweden received the territories at the mouths of the Oder and Weser, besides large money indemnifications; Brandenburg, affected by the territorial grants to Sweden, was indemnified by the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Kammin. The independence of Switzerland was formally recognized, and the independence of the United Provinces, formally recognized by Spain, was silently acknowledged by the Congress.

The Peace of Westphalia, while containing numerous violations of the rights of the Church, on the whole placed Catholics in a better condition than they had enjoyed before the war. In 1617, nine-tenths of the empire were overrun by Lutheranism and Calvinism; through the peace Germany was di-

vided into two parts of almost equal strength; the North was compactly Protestant, the South and West on the whole Catholic.

The effects of the Thirty Years' War were terrible. Three-fourths of the peasant population of Germany had perished in war or by pestilence and misery. Thousands of villages and towns were reduced to ashes. Those who outlived the ravages of the enemy, had sunk into a state of semi-barbarism. Industry and trade were so completely paralyzed that, in 1635, the Hanseatic League was virtually broken up, because the members, once so wealthy, were unable to meet the necessary expenditure.

After the Thirty Years' War it became fashionable for the heirs of principalities to travel, and especially to spend some time at the court of France. Here they readily imbibed the ideas of Louis XIV, and in a short time nearly every petty court in Germany was a miniature imitation of Versailles. The princes ceased to be thorough Germans in sympathies and habits. A number of them even allowed themselves to be won over by France. French statecraft, economic policy, and military system, which presented to the princes an example of effective administrative organization, all promised to place Germany more and more under the spell of its western neighbor. When the empire was replaced by a league

of sovereign states, each exercising to the fullest extent "state rights," and the whole not closely welded together, national consciousness vanished, the empire lost its power of resistance and became an easy prey for Louis XIV.

XXVI

FRENCH DEPREDATIONS

For the growth of Germany it was controlling that two adjoining states waxed strong enough to bid for the leadership of the nation. Austria had been increased by the victorious conquests of Prince Eugene, by the addition of Hungary and adjoining provinces, Belgium and Lombardy, later Tuscany and Modena, and the great war prize at the partitioning of Poland, *viz.*, Galicia.

Beside the many-tongued sovereignty of the Habsburgs, the "Great Elector" and Frederick William I placed the well-knit military power of Prussia, which seemed to be a match for the five-fold larger Austria and by its strenuous cohesion of its powers became a successful rival.

Emperor Ferdinand III, who lived until 1657, was succeeded by his second son, Leopold, the eldest son having died before his father. *Leopold I* (1658-1705) was a prince of high culture and great piety, mild and generous, a model in his private and family life. His unswerving truthfulness and the inviolability of his promises were recognized at

every court of Europe. But he had his share of Habsburg slowness, indecision, dependence upon advisers and lavishness in rewarding real or imaginary services, while he lacked the energy to punish the enormous peculations of officials. Accordingly, he was always poor. Poverty was the chief cause that prevented him from driving the Turks out of Europe. Still no Habsburg reign ever had to record greater wars and more glorious victories than the reign of this monarch, who was by nature eminently peace-loving. He was elected in spite of the bribes shamefully proffered by the agents of Louis XIV, and as shamefully accepted by the German electors, because historical tradition, the resources of his hereditary states, and their geographical position, made him the natural defender of western Christendom against the power of Islam.

Louis XIV, one of whose aims it was to seek what he considered the natural limits of France, and with a complete disregard of political morality to obtain possession of the imperial crown, was constantly on the watch to gain all he could from Germany in its worn-out state, and succeeded in leagu- ing with the Electors of Mayence and Cologne and other German princes ("First Rhenish Confederacy") against the Emperor. In 1667-1668 he was able to place a check upon the Elector of Brandenburg, and also upon Austria, the dynastic line of

which was now reduced to one person, and threatened to become extinct like that of Spain.

The resolution of Leopold I, in June, 1672, to enter the contest with Louis by an alliance with the weaker side for the defense of public right, was the starting point of the great European coalitions. The great military leader Turenne, reinforced by the troops of Münster and Cologne, pushed the Austrian General Montecuculi and the Elector of Brandenburg across the Rhine and the Weser, and maintained an impregnable position in Westphalia.

In August of the following year, treaties were signed between the Emperor, Spain, the Dutch Republic and the Duke of Lorraine, subsequently joined by Denmark and Brandenburg. Their object was to restore the state of affairs as established by the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and to reinstate the exiled Duke of Lorraine in his possessions.

The fall of Maestricht roused the Emperor and Spain to the utmost efforts. Montecuculi marched against Turenne and crossed the Rhine into the Palatinate. The French retreated on the whole line. The Dutch Republic and the right bank of the Rhine were freed from the enemy.

The year 1674 witnessed Turenne's most brilliant exploits. After maneuvering with a small force on the Upper Rhine, and inflicting the first great

devastation on the Palatinate, he concentrated by a splendid feat of strategy 40,000 men at Belfort, surprised and routed Montecuculi at Mühlhausen, defeated the Elector of Brandenburg at Colmar, and cleared the left bank of the Rhine of the allied troops.

During the campaigns of 1675-1679 the land forces of the Swedes, who had entered Brandenburg at the urgent request of Louis XIV., were defeated at Fehrbellin by Frederick William, "the Great Elector." The imperial troops were defeated on the Rhine, and a peace was made at *Nymwegen* in 1678 for all Europe, when the Elector of Brandenburg was forced to give up nearly all his conquests to Sweden. Austria had to resign Freiburg im Breisgau to the French.

Louis XIV was now at the summit of his power. His boundless ambition led him to annex various strips of territory on the western frontier of Germany (called "Reunions"), this unwarranted procedure culminating in the occupation of Strassburg (1681). In 1683, while the Turks were encamped before Vienna, he took Luxemburg and Treves, dismantling the forts of the latter city. At the same time he constantly urged the diet of Ratisbon to acknowledge the legality of his annexations. When, however, his correspondence with Tököly, the arch-rebel of Hungary, was laid before the

courts of Europe, and Leopold steadfastly refused to cede the stolen territories, Louis contented himself with a truce that left the question of right open. The reluctance of the Emperor to sacrifice Strassburg was finally overcome by the unanimous vote of the German Deputies at *Ryswick* (1697), and peace was concluded between Louis XIV, the Emperor and the Empire. Strassburg and the whole of Alsace, with its twelve imperial towns, were definitely separated from the Empire and remained in the possession of France until they were won back by the diplomacy of Bismarck and the armies of William I, in 1870.

When all the territorial questions had been settled, Louis came forward with his famous demand, called the Ryswick clause. In all the places restored, the Catholic religion was to remain in the condition which had obtained during the French occupation. Catholicism had again taken firm root in many of these places administered by French officials. No personal right of the inhabitants was violated by the clause, whilst the inalienable rights of the Church were restored. Louis finally maintained his point in the face of violent opposition on the part of the German Protestant princes and the moderate remonstrances of the imperial ambassadors. He was not a little assisted by the fact that the champions of Protestantism, William III, the

high lordships, and the King of Sweden, having obtained their secular demands, no longer cared for the complaints of their brethren in the faith. Thus the clause remained a part of the Peace of Ryswick.

XXVII

THE TURKISH WARS OF LEOPOLD I

In 1661, a new war broke out between Austria and Turkey. An election dispute in Transylvania, a crownland of Hungary under Turkish protection, furnished the Turks a pretext to overrun the country with fire and sword. The absorption by Turkey of Transylvania would have imperiled Austria-Hungary. Leopold, therefore, aided Transylvania. Thereupon, the Turks, stirred up by the ambassadors of Louis XIV, advanced against Hungary with an army of 100,000 men. The decisive battle was won at St. Gotthard, on the upper Raab, by the imperial general Raymond Montecuculi, 1664. It was the greatest victory by land which a Christian army had won over the Moslem for 300 years. A truce of twenty years, concluded nine days after the battle, guaranteed Transylvania the freedom of electing its princes, and confirmed some disputed territorial rights to the Emperor, but left the frontier fortress of Neuhausel in the hands of the Turks.

Whilst the Emperor was fighting in the West for the sanctity and stability of treaty rights, Hungary

was stirred up to disaffection and revolt by ambitious magnates and emissaries of Louis XIV. Emerich Tököly, a bitter Calvinist and cruel priest-slayer, strove to found an independent Hungarian principality under the suzerainty of Turkey. He was supported by the King of France, who sent him half a million florins. He concluded a treaty with Mohammed IV, in which he owned himself a vassal and tributary of the Osmanic Empire, and was recognized by the Sultan as King of Upper or Austrian Hungary. In 1682 he raised the standard of rebellion, and at the head of 14,000 partisans took a few forts. Reinforced by 40,000 Turks under Ibrahim Pasha, he conquered the greater part of Austrian Hungary. Meanwhile Kara Mustafa, the grand vizier, had made extensive preparations for an invasion of the Occident. The Turkish army numbered 160,000 regulars, 30,000 Tartar horsemen, and an immense military train. Leopold had only 28,000 men scattered over Hungary, and a field army of 32,000 under the command of Charles V, the exiled Duke of Lorraine. Avoiding strong fortresses, and burning the habitations of men on their onward march, the Turks and Tartars made directly for Vienna, the capital of Austria.

Three men saved Vienna and Christendom from the last and mightiest wave of aggressive Mohammedanism: Pope Innocent XI, who, filled with the

spirit of the Crusaders, most fully represented the solidarity of Christendom against the Islam; John III Sobieski, who had previously fought the battles of his nation against the Crescent; and the great general and strategist, Charles V, Duke of Lorraine, commander-in-chief of the Christian army.

The Tartar van arrived before Vienna, July 13, 1683, followed by the main army, which began the siege on the next day. Ten to twelve thousand regular troops, whom Charles of Lorraine had succeeded in throwing into the city, and the companies of armed citizens numbering about 4,000 men under the command of the energetic Count Rudiger of Staremburg, defended the capital. To increase the safety of the city proper, the defenders set the torch to the magnificent suburbs. High-born and low, clergy and laymen, worked on the ramparts. Bishop Leopold Kollonitsch was indefatigable in rousing the courage of the besieged, preserving harmony among the military and civil magistrates, superintending the care of the sick and wounded, and procuring pay for the soldiers. Vienna was completely inclosed by the Turks and the rich surrounding country devastated far and wide. Thousands of Christians were massacred or sent as slaves to the East. By the order of Mustafa 20,000 Christians were slaughtered in a single day in the Favorita, the dismantled palace of the Empress.

Exposed to the incessant fire of the Turks, the ravages of disease and the scarcity of provisions, the defenders were reduced to extremity, 5,000 regulars and 1,600 city guards had fallen, 2,000 were in the hospitals, the Turkish mines had opened a wide breach in the inner fortification, when at length the relief arrived which had been so anxiously awaited by the heroic Staremburg. It consisted of 80,000 Austrians, Poles, and Germans, and 160 field guns, under Sobieski, King of Poland, Charles V of Lorraine, and other leaders, who had effected a juncture at Krems on the Danube.

On September 11, the army reached the heights of Kahlenberg, in sight of the city and the Turkish camp. On the morning of the 12th King Sobieski served Mass for Father Marco, and after Mass bestowed the honor of Knighthood on his son, Prince Jacob, in memory of the greatest day which he would live to see. The army moved in serried ranks down from the heights. They had to cross three mountain crests sloping gradually toward the plain and stretching like an amphitheatre around the camp and city. Every man could survey the whole battle. In several engagements the Christians repulsed the Turks, who strove to oppose their descent from the heights. Onward they pressed to the very tent of Kara Mustafa. A panic seized the enemy, and with the setting of the sun the

whole Turkish camp with all its treasures and war materials was in the hands of the victors. The Christians lost only 500 men, while 8,000 Turks remained on the field, and the rest of the immense army was in full retreat toward Hungary. Thus Vienna was saved and the Occident forever freed from the pressure of Turkish aggression by land, which had lasted 600 years.

In 1684, Leopold I, John III Sobieski, and the Republic of Venice concluded the Holy League under the auspices of Innocent XI. This alliance was directed exclusively against the Turks, and could under no pretext be turned against any other power. The allies, in 1685, routed two Turkish armies and all the forces of Tököly, and reconquered the important fortress of Neuhausel. A great number of rebellious towns surrendered to the Emperor. The following year became memorable for the siege and capture of Buda, the capital and most important fortress of Turkish Hungary, and shortly afterwards 7,000 men scattered another army of 20,000 Turks and Tartars. Ludwig of Baden reduced a number of Turkish fortresses in quick succession. The decisive battle was fought at Mohacs, where, 161 years before, Louis, the last heir of St. Stephen, had lost his army, kingdom, and life. In this battle Eugene of Savoy won his first laurels. The result of this victory was the complete conquest of Hun-

gary, and the submission of Slavonia and Transylvania to the Emperor. In 1688, Belgrade, the key of the Osmanic Empire, was added to the Christian conquests. In the grand Diet of Hungary at Pressburg, Leopold confirmed the ancient constitution of the kingdom and granted an honest religious toleration. The crown of Hungary was settled on the male line of the House of Habsburg according to primogeniture.

In 1697, Eugene of Savoy was appointed commander-in-chief of the Christian army. He won the decisive battle of the war at Zenta, September 10, 1697. The Turks were commanded by the Sultan himself, Mustafa, the warlike son of Mohammed IV. Eugene attacked the Turks while they were crossing the Theiss. The entire Turkish infantry was destroyed either by the sword of the assailants or the waves of the river. Camp and artillery fell into the hands of the victors. The Sultan fled in wild dismay. The terror of Eugene's name, and the news that Louis XIV had concluded peace with the maritime Powers without the stipulated consent of Turkey, induced Mustafa to sever his relations with France and to offer peace to the Emperor.

Accordingly, the representatives of the Holy League and of Turkey met in Carlowitz, the dilapidated town of old Sirmium, 1698. The Peace was signed January 26, 1699. The Emperor received

Hungary and Transylvania, independent of all Turkish interference. The Treaties of Ryswick and Carlowitz restored for a few years the peace of Europe.

XXVIII

FREDERICK II, THE GREAT, AND MARIA THERESIA

In the same year in which *Frederick II* ascended the throne as King of Prussia, the Emperor Charles VI died, followed by his daughter *Maria Theresia*. The latter was not acknowledged by some of the European sovereigns as legitimate heiress of the Austrian crownlands. This gave rise to new conflicts which plunged Europe and the whole civilized world into a series of sanguinary wars.

Frederick II's father, *Frederick William I* of Prussia, had been a passionate, coarse, and despotic man, a narrow Calvinist, harsh and even brutal to his family, but frugal, simple, and moral in his private life. But despite the repugnant traits of his character, Frederick William I remains a historical figure of the greatest importance. He produced the means whereby his son was able to raise Prussia to the level of a great Power. He left his son a well-filled treasury and a splendid army of 84,000 men.

Frederick II himself was a man of extraordinary resources, his intellect shrewd and calculating, his

judgment rapid and clear. He was bold in danger, strong in adversity, indefatigable in the detail work of civil and military organization. Hard, selfish, and cynical, entirely devoid of religious principles or moral scruples, he was in political dealings callous to every sentiment of generosity or honor. In his internal government he introduced many beneficent measures. The very first days of his reign he granted toleration and abolished trial by torture. His rule was based on the maxim: "All for the people, nothing through the people."

Maria Theresia, who, on the extinction of the male line of the Habsburgs, in accordance with the "Pragmatic Sanction," succeeded her father in the government of the Austrian monarchy, was a woman of great accomplishments and personal charm. Her character was earnest, generous, chivalrous. She had at heart the good of her people. The principles of the Catholic faith were the mainsprings of her private life, but she was frequently deceived by Kaunitz and other advisers as to the real interests of the Church. Her court was the most virtuous of Europe. Whilst in the main she kept the reins of government in her own hands, she associated her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, as co-regent with herself.

The Silesian Wars.—In the beginning of Maria Theresia's reign no visible opposition was raised

against her succession, except by the protest of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who laid claim to Austria in virtue of his descent from Anne, the oldest daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I, and referred to a will of 1547, in which mention was made, however, not of the failure of male but of legitimate heirs. Augustus III, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, claimed the succession in the name of his wife, the eldest daughter of Joseph I. The Kings of Spain and Sardinia put in claims as descendants of Philip II. All these powers, except Charles Albert, had recognized the Pragmatic Sanction.

Frederick II acted in his own characteristic way. The very day on which the death of Charles VI was announced at Berlin, he confided to his minister his intention of annexing Silesia, whilst with the same breath he warmly protested his friendship to the young queen and her prince-consort. Publicly he recognized her royal title, but not until he had matured his plans for the actual invasion of her territory. Rights to Silesia he had none. Some shady claims to the duchies of Brieg, Liegnitz, Jägerndorf, and Wohlau were raised to satisfy public opinion. He himself based his claims on "his ready army and his well-filled exchequer."

Without any declaration of war or intimation of his design, at a time when the province was enjoy-

ing perfect peace and was unprepared for defense, Frederick crossed the frontier of Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, December, 1740. Then, and not till then, he offered Maria Theresia his aid in defense of her throne, if she would cede to him Lower Silesia. The offer, of course, was rejected. Thereupon the whole province was overrun by Prussian soldiers, and Breslau, the capital of Silesia, and other places were taken. In April, 1741, Marshal Schwerin won the battle of Mollwitz for the King of Prussia, after Frederick himself and his division had fled from the field.

The battle of Mollwitz encouraged the greedy opponents of Maria Theresia to come forward. Foremost of all was Fleury, minister of France. Setting at naught the solemn engagements of the Peace of Vienna, he pledged himself in a secret entente with Prussia which was to last for fourteen years to guarantee to Frederick the possession of Silesia, and to invade Germany with an army of 40,000 men. In return Frederick was to cast his electoral vote for Charles Albert, the imperial candidate of France. Bavaria, Saxony, and Spain joined the convention of Nymphenburg (near Munich). Austria was thus to lose the imperial dignity for the first time since Albrecht II.

The Prussians now advanced into Moravia. The allied French and Bavarian armies invaded Upper

Austria, menaced Vienna, but turned off into Bohemia. Prague was taken, and before the end of the year Charles Albert was crowned King of Bohemia and thereupon Emperor, assuming the title of Charles VII (1742-1745).

Meanwhile Maria Theresa in her dire straits had gone to Pressburg in Hungary. When there she appealed to the chivalry of the Hungarians; the nobles cried out that they would sacrifice their lives and blood for her. A levy of 30,000 infantry was voted at once; the nobles bound themselves to serve in the cavalry. A secret truce arranged between Frederick II and Maria Theresa, as a preliminary for peace, enabled the Austrians to attack the rest of the allies in two brilliant campaigns. Frederick now offered a separate peace to Maria Theresa on the condition of retaining Silesia. Maria Theresa was willing to cede an equivalent but not Silesia. Thereupon the Prussian monarch broke the truce and with unexpected rapidity attacked and defeated Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother of Francis Stephen, in the hotly contested battle of Chotusitz, 1742. Peace was concluded at Breslau, by which Austria yielded to Prussia Lower and the greater part of Upper Silesia and the Bohemian county of Glatz; Prussia on her part withdrew from the Franco-Bavarian alliance.

When, in the following year, Maria Theresa

was victorious over the French, Frederick II, fearing for his recent conquests in Silesia, again allied himself with France and the Emperor and broke the peace by invading Bohemia. But as the French failed to send the promised army and Charles VII died on January 20, 1745, the King of Prussia was compelled to rely upon his own forces and to retire with great hardship and loss into Silesia. The Bavarians made peace with Austria, and in Dresden (May, 1745) Bavaria, Saxony, and Austria agreed to reduce Prussia to its former condition as the Electorate of Brandenburg. The Prussian victories of Hohenfriedberg in Silesia, Sohr in Bohemia, and Kesselsdorf in Saxony overthrew the allies and led to the desired Peace of Dresden. Maria Theresia guaranteed to Frederick the territorial possessions accorded to him in the Peace of Breslau, whilst Frederick recognized Maria Theresia's husband, Francis Stephen, who had been chosen Emperor on October 4, 1745, and taken the name of Francis I (1745-1765). Thus the imperial dignity remained in the Habsburg family and the Pragmatic Sanction was practically confirmed. By the Peace of Aachen (1748) the possession of Silesia was again guaranteed to Frederick.

The Seven Years' War.—Maria Theresia, suspecting that Frederick meditated mutilating the Austrian monarchy a second time, and desirous of

humiliating Prussia and recovering Silesia, believed that the hour had now come. Aware of the intention of the Empress, Frederick II sent her a summons to disarm. The answer not being satisfactory, Frederick at the head of 60,000 men swooped down upon Saxony without a declaration of war and marched to Dresden, which he entered without opposition. The intention was to enter Bohemia at once and crush the Austrians before they had time to concentrate their forces. But Augustus III took up a strong position on the river Pirna, appealed to Austria for aid, and brought Frederick's advance to a stop. An Austrian army under Marshal Browne was sent to the relief of the Saxons, Frederick met the Austrians just within the borders of Bohemia, and fought the drawn battle of Lobositz, after which Marshal Browne continued his march as if nothing had happened. But he could not save the Saxons. They had failed to effect the junction agreed upon and were forced to capitulate. Augustus III was allowed to retire to Poland. Saxony had suffered terribly, but her resistance had saved Austria. Frederick's intended campaign had proved a failure; he was compelled to winter in Dresden. Meanwhile Austria, France, and Russia could perfect their coalition. A treaty for the partition of some of Prussia's provinces was signed by the three Powers in the spring of 1757. Sweden

joined the league as the ally of France, but her part in the war was unimportant. The Empire declared the invasion of Saxony as a breach of the imperial peace and formally declared war. Besides Hanover and Brunswick, only a few minor princes continued in alliance with Frederick. Thus the Seven Years' War meant for Germany a civil war.

To get the start of the enemy, Frederick, early in 1757, entered Bohemia. Before Prague he defeated the Austrians in a bloody battle. The Austrians lost their best general, Marshal Browne, and 13,000 men. The Prussians lost 12,500 men and their old hero, Marshal Schwerin. The siege and bombardment of Prague by 50,000 Prussians gave Marshal Daun time to march to its relief. Frederick went to meet him and found him encamped on the heights of Kolin. After seven unsuccessful attacks the King was obliged to retreat in disorder. The retreat turned into a rout, when, to avenge their country, three Saxon cavalry regiments charged through the broken ranks of the Prussian infantry. The loss of the battle meant the loss of the campaign. Frederick was compelled to raise the siege of Prague and to evacuate Bohemia. He returned to Saxony with 70,000 of the 117,000 with which he had commenced the campaign.

The Russians had entered East Prussia under Apraxin and won a victory (at Grossjägerndorf).

Whilst the Austrians in slow advances conquered part of Silesia and took Breslau, General Hadik made a dashing raid into the heart of Prussia, entered Berlin, and raised contributions in city and country.

Before the end of March, 100,000 French in two divisions crossed the Rhine, occupied Cleve, and marched upon Hanover, plundering and destroying the property of friend and foe alike. Eight days after the battle of Kolin, Marshal d'Estrées defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck on the Weser. Cumberland abandoned Hanover and Brunswick to the invaders, never stopping in his retreat till he had reached the fortress of Stade near the mouth of the Elbe.

The position of Frederick was now precarious. The French were masters in North Germany west of the Elbe. The Russians stood in East Prussia. The Swedes threatened Pomerania. The Austrians advanced in Silesia. In Central Germany, 40,000 French under Soubise joined the 20,000 imperial troops for the purpose of liberating Saxony. Frederick never lost his presence of mind or relaxed his efforts to conquer the increasing difficulties. He first defeated the French at Rossbach, then turned to Silesia and completely routed the Austrians in the battle of Leuthen. The Russians he met at Zorn-dorf and defeated them in this, the bloodiest battle

of the war. Frederick then hastened to Saxony, where his brother, Prince Henry, was confronting Marshal Daun and the army of the Empire. It took the wary Daun a month before deciding on a battle. At Hochkirch he espied his chance. He assailed Frederick's camp in a night attack. The excellent discipline of the Prussians prevented a panic; but they had to retreat with a loss of 3 generals, 9,000 men, and 100 cannon. Marshal Daun failed to reap the fruit of his victory. He allowed Frederick to reinforce himself, to evade the Austrian army, and to clear Silesia of the enemy. In the summer of the following year (1759) General Laudon effected a junction with the Russian army which occupied the heights of Kunersdorf near Frankfort on the Oder. The King was badly defeated, barely saving his own life. Stupefied by this disaster, he resigned the command into the hands of his brother Henry. When the news of Kunersdorf arrived, Dresden capitulated to the Austrians, and was henceforth lost to Frederick. The King, however, shook off his despair when he saw the allies neglecting to use their victory, the Russians and Austrians quarreling amongst themselves, Marshal Daun remaining in stolid inactivity, and the Russians, in expectation of the death of their Empress, marching back into Poland.

Desirous of concluding the campaign with a vic-

tory, Frederick sent an army into Saxony to reinforce his brother Henry and to reconquer Dresden. The result was, that Marshal Daun surrounded a Prussian corps at Maxen, and captured nine generals, five hundred officers and 12,000 of the line. To prevent the union of the Austrians and Russians, Frederick, who was tracked by two Austrian armies under Daun and Lacy, marched from Saxony into Silesia, where Laudon awaited him, while the Russians crossed the Oder. With his usual rapidity he attacked Laudon, and inflicted the first defeat on the brave general at Liegnitz, before the two other armies came up to join him. Frederick thereupon sent an exaggerated report of the victory to Prince Henry, intended to be intercepted by the Russians. The latter took the bait and recrossed the Oder. Frederick closed the campaign of the year with the victory of Torgau over Daun.

The campaign of the following year was one of marches and maneuvers without a single pitched battle. Prussia was exhausted, one half of her territories in the hands of the enemy. But the death of Elizabeth of Russia saved Frederick and his kingdom. Her successor, Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick, concluded with him not only the Peace of Petersburg, but also an offensive and defensive alliance. By the former he restored all the conquered territories to Prussia; by the latter he

recalled the troops from the Austrian camp and ordered them to join the Prussian army.

On February 16, 1763, peace was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The altered circumstances left Austria to face Prussia alone, and led to a treaty of peace signed in the Saxon castle of Hubertsburg. Frederick retained Silesia and Glatz and evacuated Saxony. In addition Prussia promised to cast her vote in the imperial election for Archduke Joseph, the son of Maria Theresa. Saxony, restored to the state before the war, was included in the peace. The Seven Years' War made Prussia a rival of Austria in Germany about equal in strength and one of the Great Powers of Europe.

XXIX

GERMANY IN THE DUST

The French Revolution found a disrupted German Empire, whose people, especially those on the Rhine, were filled with cosmopolitan ideas, offering a fertile soil for the propagation of the revolutionary doctrines conveyed by the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." In vain did the French emigrants ask the cool-headed Emperor *Leopold II* (1790-1792) to intercede in their behalf and restore the old order in France. Under his successor, *Francis II* (1792-1806), the revolutionists themselves compelled the so-called Coalition Wars. Austria and Prussia marched together to France in the autumn of 1792, but unnerved by mutual jealousy, they retreated in the Champagne. Without any resistance the French invaded the territory of the Rhine. In 1793 the European War commenced, in which the Empire also took part. At first the allies were successful, but soon the jealousies of the two German Powers stirred anew. Prussia, in 1795, concluded the separate peace treaty of Basle with the French Republic and assented to the cession of the left

bank of the Rhine. Austria put forth new efforts, but was finally forced to yield in the peace of Campo Formio (1797). The Empire, after the failure of peace negotiations and after a new war had been lost at Marengo and Hohenlinden, assented to the adjustments at Lunéville (1801). The Rhine was established as the boundary between France and Germany, and the Adige as the boundary between Austria and Italy. The special proposals for indemnifications were drawn up by a Deputation of Delegates of the Empire. The actual work of dismemberment was done by Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, and the King of Prussia. The shameful negotiations lasted more than two years, during which the ambassadors of German princes and princelings haunted the antechamber of the First Consul and bribed French ambassadors and secretaries to obtain additional allotments of land. It was chiefly ecclesiastical territory and free cities that were sacrificed to the greed of both Catholic and Protestant princes. The Catholic estates were robbed of 1,719 square miles and over 3,100,000 inhabitants. Of forty-eight free imperial cities only six were spared. As a rule the indemnified princes gained more than they had lost in the two Coalition Wars. These transactions practically put an end to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

A violent religious persecution now broke out.

Many rich abbeys, because of their age and history, enjoyed a high reputation as centres of learning, preserving the light of religion among the people. With brutal force they were secularized, especially in the territories of southern Germany. The Church was robbed. She was unable to raise the most necessary funds for divine service, the care of the poor, and for the instruction of her children. It is true, that according to the Imperial Treaty ("Reichsrecess") of Lunéville the princes had to provide for these necessities; it is true, that they had assumed the duty of endowing the cathedrals properly and lastingly; but they did not adhere to these terms. Sixteen years after the treaty not one cathedral had been endowed; the destitute dioceses were still without bishops; colleges founded and endowed by Catholics were changed into Protestant institutions, others were closed. The universities fared no better. Catholic learning was in disfavor. The State took charge of the administration of all public welfare institutions, turned Catholic hospitals and poor-houses into nonsectarian, or rather, Protestant ones. All that was left to the Church was a small number of endowments, but even these were looked upon as state property and administered by state officials.

Thus the years 1802 and 1803 witnessed the destruction of all that Boniface, Germany's great bene-

factor, had painstakingly built up. That short space of time saw the utter annihilation of all which pious zeal and renunciation of many centuries had saved up by self-sacrifice. The venerable halls were closed in which youthful Germans desirous of learning had learned from the lips of enthusiastic teachers those truths which alone can redeem the world and which had made the German people and Empire a credit to the Middle Ages. The Protestant historian Heinrich Leo summarizes his judgment regarding the secularization in the following words: "Germany has never experienced a morally lower degradation than in those days; nay, in one respect we may say that it was lower than the moral degradation of France during the Revolution."

By the secularization one of the main props of the old Empire broke down, and so, as early as 1804, Francis II adopted the title of Emperor of Austria. The Peace of Pressburg (Dec. 26, 1805), after Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, gave the death-blow to the German Empire. Alongside of Austria and Prussia a number of sovereign states were created, strong enough to perpetuate Germany's partition, and weak enough to perpetuate the hegemony of France: the kingdoms of Bavaria and Württemberg, the grandduchies of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, etc. All the German states except Austria, Prussia, Brunswick, and electoral Hesse seceded from the

Empire and formed the Confederacy of the Rhine (July 12, 1806) under the protection and vassalage of Napoleon. The Confederation had to furnish the Emperor an army of 63,000 men. Francis II laid down the German imperial crown. In the same year Prussia's power was broken on the battle fields of Jena and Auerstädt. The Peace of Tilsit (1807) took away from King *Frederick William III* (1797-1840) all lands west of the Elbe; in Westphalia and Berg ruled royal princes of the Bonaparte dynasty. The complete throwing down of Austria (1809) raised Napoleon to the zenith of his power. Only his unhappy campaign against Russia (1812) made the wars of liberation possible for Germany.

XXX

THE WARS OF LIBERATION

The treaty of the Peace of Tilsit not only deprived Prussia of all her lands between the Rhine and Elbe, but an almost insurmountable war indemnification was imposed and strong French garrisons were placed in her towns and cities. The burden seemed unbearable. Sorrows and cares lay heavy upon the King and his noble consort. But now, in misfortune, the true love of the people for their ruler manifested itself. When the royal pair, who had fled to Königsberg after the fatal battles of Jena and Auerstädt and then to Memel, arrived again in Berlin in 1809 with the royal children, they were accorded a most hearty and touching reception by all classes of the people.

In the midst of the greatest anxieties Frederick William III succeeded in carrying out beneficial improvements throughout his country. In this task Minister von Stein and General Scharnhorst were his ablest and most devoted advisers. Every subject was made to feel that he was free and independent, even the peasant and common citizen. Up

to that time most peasants had been hereditary subjects of their landlords, *i.e.*, they did not own their fields, but only had the use of them and in return had to render heavy services (*Fron dienste*) to the overlord, or had to pay taxes in the form of corn and money. Without the permission of the overlord neither they nor their children were free to accept service elsewhere. The King abolished the serfdom of the peasants: by this act about two-thirds of the population obtained unrestrained personal liberty. As a result of the new municipal charters the municipal corporations (*Stadtgemeinden*) obtained the right to manage their property and all municipal affairs independently. For that purpose, they chose aldermen from among their number, and the latter chose the burgomaster. Thus the right of free citizenship was bestowed upon all.

In order to increase the military efficiency of his state, Frederick William III introduced a system of conscription. Heretofore the army had consisted of mercenary troops. Henceforth every able-bodied Prussian man served his time in the army. As no more than 42,000 men were permitted to be in the Prussian army, these 42,000, after they were drilled, were discharged and replaced by others. In this manner by the year 1813 Prussia had an army of over 200,000 well trained men.

In the terrible disaster which befell Napoleon in

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE
AFTER WATERLOO

HERETOFORE THE ARMY HAD "HEREDITARY" CONSISTED MOSTLY OF CONSCRIPTS & HEREDITARY MILITARY. THE "HEREDITARY" STATEMENT IS ALSO HEREDITARY MILITARY.

1812, Europe saw the judgment of God, and the German people rose in daring enthusiasm to regain their liberty. Frederick William III, after making a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, declared war on France, and then issued his "Proclamation to My People," in which he called upon his subjects for the last decisive battle for the liberation of their country. Poets, like Körner, Arndt, and Schenken-dorf wrote magnificent patriotic songs by which the courage and enthusiasm of the people were awakened and increased. Youths and men, rich and poor, gladly took up arms and went forth to war under the motto: "With God for King and Country." The whole country hastened to make voluntary offerings; they gave money, jewelry, horses, clothing, and provisions. As a reward for acts of valor in this war the King founded the order of the *Iron Cross*.

Soon also Austria, Sweden, and England joined the alliance against Napoleon. The latter had formed a new army in France and went to meet the allies. The Prussian general Bülow won a victory over a French army at *Grossbeeren* and *Dennewitz*; Blücher defeated the French near the *Katzbach* in the plain of Wahlstatt. The decisive battle of the war took place near *Leipsic* on Oct. 16 and 18, 1813. Since nearly all nations of Europe were represented in the fighting armies, it is called the

Battle of Nations. More than 300,000 men of the allies were opposed to 200,000 Frenchmen. On either side great bravery was displayed. In the thick of the fight 10,000 Saxons suddenly went over to their German brethren, turning their cannon against the French. In spite of all his art and daring the great Napoleon was finally crushed beneath the overwhelming numbers of his enraged enemies and his power broken in this great battle of nations struggling for liberation.

With the remnants of his army Napoleon hurried across the Rhine, never again to set his foot on German soil. The Confederacy of the Rhine was dissolved and its members joined the allies. The latter offered Napoleon a peace which would have secured the Alps and the Rhine as the boundaries of France. Napoleon rejected the offer and obtained from the Senate a new levy of 300,000 men. Under these circumstances the allies invaded France with 200,000 men. Schwarzenberg and Blücher defeated Napoleon at La Rothier. But when the victors separated to facilitate provisioning, Napoleon with astonishing boldness hurled himself on the forces of Blücher and defeated him in four battles. Then turning like a flash upon the main army under Schwarzenberg, he won the two victories of Nangis and Montereau. Again the allies offered peace at Chatillon, but emboldened by his successes

Napoleon raised his demands beyond the endurance of the Powers.

In the progress of the war Napoleon was defeated at Laon by Blücher, and at Arcis by Schwarzenberg. Whilst the Emperor conceived the plan of throwing himself in the rear of the enemy and raising the populace, the allies marched directly upon Paris. The marshals bravely defended the city for a few days, but, the southern outworks being stormed, the city capitulated and, on March 31, the allied monarchs and their armies entered the capital of France. Napoleon was deprived of his crown and banished to the Isle of Elba. France ceded the conquered lands to Germany.

In the following year Napoleon secretly left the Island of Elba and landed in France. Everywhere he was received with jubilation and presently he entered Paris. At once the allies took up arms against the disturber of the peace. This time the battle was fought in Belgium. On June 14, Napoleon forced back the Prussians under Ziethen in the engagement of Charleroi. On the 15th, Napoleon defeated Blücher at *Ligny*. It was Napoleon's last victory. He then turned his attention to Wellington, who was encamped at Waterloo, near Brussels. The afternoon of the 18th saw Wellington's troops, though still holding their ground, suffering so heav-

ily that the day was saved only by Blücher's timely arrival. The two armies uniting completely defeated, routed, and scattered the army of Napoleon, who withdrew from the battlefield in a dazed condition surrounded by a square of his faithful guards. The allied armies pursued the French and entered Paris for the second time. Napoleon was again deposed and exiled to the far-away rocky Island of St. Helena in the Atlantic. France had to pay enormous war indemnifications, make restitution of all the stolen art treasures, and, in addition, to support an army of the allies in her frontier fortresses for three long years.

At the *Congress of Vienna* Prussia received its former possessions in Westphalia and new territories on the left bank of the Rhine, the greater part of Saxony and the smaller part of Warsaw with the city of Danzig. The Holy Roman Empire was replaced by a loose Confederacy, which secured the semblance of unity, but allowed almost complete independence to the separate States. It numbered thirty-eight members, among them the Emperor of Austria for his German provinces, the Kings of Prussia, of Hanover, of Saxony, of Bavaria, of Württemberg; a number of minor sovereign princes, and the free cities of Frankfort, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen. The leadership, naturally, fell to

Austria. The latter recovered her Italian possessions, the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Illyria, Salzburg, the Tyrol, and Galicia.

The Decrees of Vienna regulated for the next forty years the relations of the European States. The principles which guided the deliberations at Vienna did not differ much from the policy of the Revolution or of Napoleon. The governments that prided themselves on their legitimacy respected neither historical rights nor the just demands of the patriotic people, who had voluntarily taken up arms to free the Fatherland. The Catholic Church in Germany obtained no justice or restitution for the gigantic robbery committed in 1803.

XXXI

A PERIOD OF MONARCHICAL REACTION

During the long period of peace following the Wars of Liberation the desire for unified national existence grew, despite reactionary measures passed by the Confederacy at the behest of Metternich. At the beginning the universities were the foremost supporters and defenders of this unity. The people, too, began to demand a share in the government, but only a number of the small and middle-sized states permitted constitutions and representation, *viz.*, Nassau (1814-15), Sachsen-Weimar (1816), then the south German states Bavaria and Baden (1818), Württemberg (1819), and, under the goad of the July Revolution (1830) also Kurhessen, Sachsen, Braunschweig, and Hanover, while the two great Powers frowned upon these liberal measures. Prussia was busy amalgamating her heterogeneous states into a unified commonwealth and developing the customs-union ("*Zollverein*") founded in 1819, which was destined to make a commercial unit of Prussia, central and southern Germany. In 1834 the *German Customs-Union* was established

in spite of Austria's opposition. This Customs-Union aroused and strengthened the spirit of cohesion among the different peoples; it, therefore, laid the foundation for the future union of Germany under Prussia's leadership. Now for the first time the exertions of the commercial classes during the preceding century were abundantly rewarded, and Germany regained the financial ability to undertake large commercial enterprises. As Prussia, like Austria, refused to grant her subjects a constitution, the customs-union between Prussia and the southern states, owing to differences on politico-economic questions resulting chiefly from Prussia's monarchical reaction, soon began to weaken.

The position of the Catholic Church also became critical. The men who had roused the enthusiasm of the nation in the Wars of Liberation, had to make room for narrow-minded bureaucrats. Prominent patriots, like *Joseph Görres*, the greatest publicist of Germany, whom Napoleon had called the Fifth Power of Europe, were subjected to the most contemptible forms of persecution. The territorial assemblies established in the Congress of Vienna were allowed no power or influence. The Diet of Frankfurt became a political machine in the hands of Austria and Prussia for the promotion of their dynastic interests. The Catholic Church well-nigh banished from public life, her freedom of action circum-

scribed, her property, monasteries, and schools confiscated, betrayed by some of her own prelates and priests, and paralyzed by the indifference of the masses, eked out a precarious existence as the handmaid of the State, a sort of higher police institution. Especially in Prussia, the ministers of the crown, in their aim of protestantizing its Catholic subjects, carried into every branch of the administration the pernicious principle that the King is the source of *all* rights, political and religious, for Protestants and Catholics alike.

Whilst the oppression of the Church emanated from those in high stations of life, a revival started out from the very heart of the people. In 1800, Count *Leopold von Stolberg* embraced the Catholic faith. His sterling character and great work, "History of Religion," attracted widespread attention to his conversion. Protestants of the highest standing in literature and art (Overbeck, Cornelius, later Frederick von Schlegel, Gfrörer, etc.) followed his example. The unmeasured attacks made on the Catholic Church and her new converts during the jubilee of the "Reformation," 1817, roused the Catholics from their torpor and called forth energetic refutations in books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Görres, with his powerful style and cutting irony, stood in the front ranks of the defenders of the faith. The followers of the Romantic School.

in Germany, like Ozanam in France, and Walter Scott in England, brought about a fairer and truer appreciation of the Catholic Middle Ages. But no event had a greater influence on the Catholic revival of Germany than the "*Cologne affair*" of 1837. A cabinet order in force in Silesia, under which children of mixed marriages were to be educated in the religion of their father, was extended in 1825 to the Rhine provinces and Westphalia. The Catholic clergy refused to comply. At the request of the government the bishops asked for instructions from the Holy See. Pius VIII, in an Apostolic Brief, gave the only possible decision, that children of mixed marriages were to be educated in the Catholic religion, a decision which Gregory XVI confirmed. Thereupon Ferdinand von Spiegel, Archbishop of Cologne, and three of his suffragans, without any knowledge on the part of the Holy See, entered into a secret conspiracy with the Prussian government practically to ignore the Papal Brief. The Bishop of Treves, one of the signers of the secret convention, repented on his deathbed and informed the Pope of the plot. Minister Bunsen, who had represented the government in this dishonest transaction, had the effrontery to deny the fact. Archbishop Spiegel was succeeded by Clement August von Droste-Vischering, a prelate of unimpeachable loyalty to his duty and the Church. As

soon as he discovered the *secrét* convention, he sent a declaration to Berlin, that he would strictly carry out the Brief of Pius VIII. The government now dropped the mask, and on November 20, 1837, arrested the fearless Archbishop with a great display of military force and conveyed him to the fortress of Minden. He was charged with violating his engagements with the government, undermining the laws, and maintaining connections with two revolutionary parties. The following year Archbishop Dunin of Gnesen was arrested for the same fidelity to the laws of the Church, and confined in the fortress of Kolberg.

The intense excitement caused in Germany and in the entire Catholic world by the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne was in itself a clear indication how much Catholic sentiment among the people had grown since the days of Napoleon. Gregory XVI, in December, 1837, delivered a powerful allocution which was received with enthusiasm by the Catholics of Europe and America. The remaining two bishops who had signed the secret convention withdrew their signatures. The Prussian government tried to justify its measures, but the Holy See published documents which allowed of no contradiction. The Plenary Council of Baltimore sent words of admiration and encouragement to the "new Confessors of the Faith." Joseph Görres, in his

“Athanasius” and his “Triarier,” triumphantly refuted the arguments of the government and the anti-Catholic press. The government was defeated along the whole line. The Catholic practice as outlined in the Brief of Leo XII was everywhere restored.

When the large-minded *Frederick William IV* (1840–1861) succeeded his father, the Archbishop of Gnesen, previously released, was at once allowed to return to his see. The Archbishop of Cologne was restored to full liberty, and by a public letter of the King acquitted of all charges which the former government had raised against him. To facilitate the work of peace, Gregory XVI persuaded the Archbishop to accept the bishop of Speyer, afterwards Cardinal Geissel, as coadjutor and administrator of the diocese with the right of succession, whilst Msgr. Droste remained Archbishop in right and fact. The venerable prelate by his work on “Peace between Church and State,” and Frederick William IV by his generous gifts for the restoration of the Cathedral of Cologne, sealed the reconciliation. A pilgrimage of 1,500,000 persons to the Holy Robe of Christ in the city of Treves, 1844, was a splendid proof of the growing devotion of the people. Fresh troubles arose, such as Ronge’s German-Catholic revolt, small in number of adherents but vehement in malice, the Protestant Alliance,

new encroachments on the rights of the Church by the officialdom of Prussia; but the Catholics were now prepared for effective resistance, and the revival of 1837 bore its fruit throughout the century.

XXXII

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV — THE YEAR 1848

When the liberty-loving King *Frederick William IV* ascended the throne, the hope for a stronger political unity of Germany seemed about to be fulfilled and the granting of a Prussian constitution not far off. But fearing the inevitable clash with Austria, the King openly declared his repugnance for a written constitution.

The Parisian "February Revolution" set the ball a-rolling. On all sides popular demonstrations voiced the sentiments for a German representative parliament; trial by jury, freedom of the press, the right of assembly and to bear arms were all demanded. On March 15th serious disturbances began. A few days after the King promised to work for a regeneration of Germany by popular representation. An immense mass of people surged toward the palace, ostensibly to thank the King. Provoked by the outcries and insults hurled against them, the soldiers fired two shots. With the cry of treason, the people scattered in every direction. In an incredibly short time the city was covered with

barricades. A murderous fight ensued from street to street. The incensed military forces, 14,000 strong with 36 cannon, gradually succeeded, with great labor, in destroying the barricades. Yet on the morning of the 10th the troops, upon an order of the King, evacuated the city. The people were now masters of the situation. Frederick William IV was forced to stand bare-headed on the balcony of his palace as the funeral procession of the men whom his soldiers had killed at the barricades marched by. His brother William, who later became Emperor, had to flee to England, the common refuge of Louis Philip and Metternich and other statesmen. The King granted all the popular demands. The prisons were opened. A national guard was organized. For a time liberal ministers changed in quick succession amid scenes of growing anarchy.

In Austria, several insurrections of the people deprived of all political liberty, led to Ferdinand's abdication in favor of his nephew, *Francis Joseph I*, the still ruling head of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Hungarian Diet refused to acknowledge Ferdinand's abdication. Only with the help of a Russian army were the Austrians able to defeat the Hungarians. Hungary was completely merged with Austria and its ancient institutions obliterated.

The German people now turned their eyes to the

National Assembly, which had meanwhile convened at Frankfort. Its aim was to devise a national constitution which would harmonize the demands of the people with the interests of the various governments. The Assembly was composed of 586 members, divided into three parties: the Conservative Right, to which the Catholics von Radowitz, Prince Lichnowski, Döllinger, August Reichensperger, and von Ketteler belonged, the Liberal Centre, and the Republican Left. The Assembly at Frankfort elected Archduke John of Austria Administrator of the Empire with a responsible ministry of his own. The old Confederate Diet recognized this provisional government and then dissolved. The majority of the members of the Assembly were Monarchists of widely diverging opinions. The minority advocated a Republican Confederation based on the sovereignty of the people. The Assembly frittered away its time and talents in fruitless oratorical flights, for it could define its relationship neither to the different governments nor to the two Constituent Assemblies sitting at the same time in Vienna and in Berlin.

The helplessness of the new National Administration at home and abroad became apparent in the affair of Schleswig-Holstein. The two duchies had risen against Denmark, March, 1848, formed a provisional government, and sent deputies to Frankfort.

Prussian troops under General Wrangel were sent to their aid and gained some successes against the Danes. But the losses inflicted on German commerce by the Danish blockade and the remonstrances of Russia and England, induced Prussia to conclude a rather humiliating truce. The provisional government and the Assembly at Frankfort, in spite of their angry protests, had to bow to the accomplished fact. The truce created widespread dissatisfaction in Germany. In Frankfort the people, excited by democratic agitators, made an attempt to overthrow the Parliament and proclaim the Republic. Prince Lichnowski and General Auerwald were murdered by the mob. St. Paul's Church, where the sessions were held, was saved only by the arrival of troops from Mayence. Thus both the Administrator and the Assembly gradually lost their authority.

The Assembly of Frankfort finished the Constitution of the German Empire in 1849. But only smaller states were willing to accept it. The question as to who should be elected Emperor rent the Parliament into an Austrian and a Prussian faction. A delegation representing a bare majority offered the imperial crown to the King of Prussia. Frederick William publicly declared he would accept the crown only with the free consent of all the German

states; privately, however, he held the Frankfort Assembly and its new crown in the utmost contempt. Thereupon so many deputies left Frankfort or were called off that the Parliament became a rump of radicals. This failure of the new Constitution was seized upon by the agitators of the international Revolution as a pretext for new insurrections in favor of a German republic. The May days of 1849 saw Republican insurrections in Saxony, the Palatinate, Baden, and in the Rhine provinces. Many of the revolutionist leaders were shot, others escaped to Switzerland and America (General Sigel, Karl Schurz).

Prussian statesmen now tried another way of arriving at a German Union, this time to the exclusion of Austria. Prussia concluded an alliance with Saxony and Hanover and some minor states. Austria, on the other hand, supported by the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, and backed by the Emperor of Russia, demanded the restoration of the German Confederacy of 1815. For a moment it appeared as if the question of the German Union would lead to war between Austria and Prussia. But in a conference of the representatives of the two Powers at Olmütz (1850), Prussia yielded to all the demands of Austria. Schleswig-Holstein, which had, unaided, continued its hopeless war for independence, was handed back to Denmark. The

Conference of Dresden, 1851, re-established the German Confederation of 1815.

The Catholic Church in Germany and Austria emerged from the Revolution with more power and freedom than she had enjoyed for a century. In October, 1848, the German Episcopate, for the first time in the nineteenth century, united for common action in the Conference of Würzburg under the presidency of Archbishop Geissel. The governments could not help recognizing in the Church a bulwark of law and order. The absolute state, as it had existed before 1848, was no more. The fundamental laws which survived the Assemblies of Frankfort and Berlin, guaranteed to the Catholic Church, as to all other denominations, the free management of her own affairs, and the independent possession and administration of the funds destined for religious, educational, and charitable purposes. Ecclesiastical elections and communication with Rome were freed from the "placet" and the supervision of the State. In the management of the schools a tolerable *modus vivendi* between the Church and the State was found. The Right of Association called forth numerous religious societies and opened Germany to the religious orders. Driven from Switzerland, the Jesuits founded a province in Germany and began their career of popular missions throughout the country, which,

while reviving the zeal of the Catholic masses, prepared them for fresh attacks, that twenty years later culminated in the "Kulturkampf."

In Austria, the Emperor Francis Joseph I completed the abrogation of the persecuting code of Joseph II and sealed this measure in 1855 by a concordat, in which the rights of the Holy See were fully recognized.

XXXIII

WILLIAM I — THE WARS OF 1864 AND 1866

When Frederick William IV died without offspring in 1861, he was succeeded by his brother William I (1861-1888), who in the autumn of the year 1857 had assumed the royal authority in place of the enfeebled King. The first concern of the new King was to multiply his armed forces. Improved equipment was provided and diligent instructions and unwearied exercises, too, helped to train the men and make an efficient army. In this work he received the active cooperation of the minister of war, Roon. When the administration policy on Army Reforms (Separation of the Home Guards from the Line Troops, Three Years' Enlistment, and Increasing the Standing Army) came in conflict with the representatives in the Reichstag, Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, was given a seat in the cabinet and soon thereafter made its President and Foreign Secretary (October 8, 1862). He successfully negotiated the contest on popular representation. Stamping out a revolution in Poland by a military treaty with Russia, he placed the

Kingdom of Prussia on friendly terms with the Muskovite realm (1863). But it was Bismarck's chief aim to make Prussia supreme in Germany. To gain this end he thought a war with Austria desirable. But the new King and his family were opposed to this project. Bismarck calculated that the surest means of embroiling the two dynasties would be an alliance between the two monarchs for the purpose of interfering in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein.

When Christian IX succeeded to the throne of Denmark (1863), he accepted a Constitution which incorporated Schleswig with Denmark. An incorporation of Schleswig was clearly excluded by the agreement of 1852 between Austria, Prussia, and Denmark. Bismarck prevailed upon King William to conclude an alliance with Austria against Denmark. The allied Powers demanded a repeal of the new Constitution. Upon Denmark's refusal, an Austro-Prussian army advanced into Schleswig, 1864, whilst the troops of the German Confederation occupied Holstein. The Danish army was beaten along the whole front and retired to the Düppel entrenchments. After a siege of seven weeks, the Prussians under the leadership of Frederick Charles, nephew of the King, took these trenches by storm. The Danish army fled to the Isle of Alsen. Again the Prussian army attacked

and captured the island. The Treaty of Peace was then negotiated at Vienna; Schleswig and Holstein together with Lauenburg being ceded to Prussia and Austria. Holstein was to be administered by Austria, while Schleswig came under Prussian rule. Lauenburg was released by Austria for a money consideration and annexed to Prussia.

Austria desired to strengthen the German Confederacy, of which she was still the virtual head, by uniting Schleswig-Holstein with the Confederacy as a sovereign state under a native prince. Bismarck, on the other hand, wanted Schleswig-Holstein for Prussia, and vigorously suppressed the movement. To intensify the friction, Prussia came forward with a proposal to reorganize the German Confederacy in such a manner as to destroy Austria's preponderance in Germany. It was under these circumstances that Bismarck and La Marmora, Italy's shrewd and conscienceless prime minister, arranged a secret offensive and defensive treaty of alliance. By this compact Italy bound herself to declare war against Austria immediately after Prussia should have taken the initiative.

While the negotiations for Schleswig-Holstein and the constitutional reform were in progress, Bismarck assiduously left nothing undone to increase the tension and at the same time allayed the misgivings of the excited King. Italy and a few North

German states aligned themselves on the side of Prussia; with Austria stood Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. When the Prussian troops marched into Hanover, Saxony and Hesse, the Saxon army and that of the Elector of Hesse had evacuated their territory without offering battle and had joined forces with the enemies of Prussia. The Hanoverian army failed to escape, but was overtaken by the Prussians at *Langensalza* and forced to surrender. These forces were simply disarmed and sent back to their own country.

The occupation of Saxony had opened the way for the invasion of Bohemia, the chief seat of the war. The armies of the two Prussian princes, Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince, entered Bohemia without meeting with any resistance. A third army followed the Saxons, who were quitting their own country and seeking safety by trying to effect a junction with the Austrians. Before the decisive battle was fought several Austrian corps separated from the main body had been defeated. Numbers, arms, and organization were against Benedict, the commander of the Austrian forces. The muzzle-loaders could not compete with the new Prussian needle-guns. Only Trautenau was an Austrian victory. The die was cast at Sadowa, leaving the Prussian arms victorious.

The more important effects of the war were that Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort, that Austria recognized the dissolution of the German Federation and ceased to be a member of the German States. The Germanic countries north of the Main composed the *North German Confederacy* under Prussian leadership. The southern belt of states concluded offensive and defensive alliances with Prussia which really paved the way for the unifying work under Prussia's dominion.

The Constitution of the North German Confederacy went into effect on July 1, 1867, and was an example for the future German Empire (*Reichstag, Bundesrath*). The Confederation began with a common legislature, which was later taken over by the Empire, and culminated in the expansion of the Empire by the south German states seeking membership, *i.e.*, the proclamation of the Constitution of the new Empire, December 31, 1870.

The Habsburg monarchy was transformed into a modern constitutional state, and Hungary reconciled with Austria and the Habsburg dynasty. The two states were united in personal union, the Emperor of Austria being at the same time King of Hungary. Each of the states received its own Constitution, government, parliament, and ministry. The two parliaments annually choose a delegation of sixty

members each, to legislate in matters of foreign policy, military administration, and imperial finance. The delegates meet alternately in Vienna and Budapest.

XXXIV

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, 1870-1871

Prussia's military successes and the rapidly nearing unification of German states excited much envy and jealousy in France. In a war with Prussia, Napoleon III hoped to have new glory redound to his people, rising Prussia weakened, and the unification of Germany blocked, his own prestige and power correspondingly enhanced. Last but not least he thought thereby to satisfy the war party, which had sprung up in France after the battle of Sadowa and was very insistent upon having the territory on the left bank of the Rhine restored to its rightful (!) owner.

The idea that the Rhine was the natural boundary of France had been kept alive by French statesmen, historians, poets, and the daily press ever since the fall of Napoleon I. A pretext for war was readily discovered. Spain had exiled her queen, Isabella, in 1868, and shortly after offered the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. Forthwith the French government declared that it would never allow a Hohenzollern prince to ascend the Spanish

throne. Prince Leopold, thereupon, rejected the proffered crown.

Benedetti, the French ambassador in Berlin, demanded of the King a disavowal that he would ever consent to a Hohenzollern prince accepting the Spanish crown. The King of Prussia positively declined to comply with the ambassador's demands. After a few days, on July 19, 1870, the French declaration of war arrived in Berlin.

Napoleon calculated that he would simply have to measure up against Prussia and the minor states of the North German Confederation, but his reckoning was without the enemy, for as one man the whole of Germany rose up willing to fight against the disturber of the peace. Everywhere the "Watch on the Rhine" was sung. On August 2nd, 450,000 German soldiers were at the French frontier in the narrow space between Landau and Treves. The German forces were divided into three parts — the right wing under Steinmetz stood at Coblenz, the center under Prince Frederick Charles was at Mayence, while the left wing under Crown Prince Frederick William rested on Mannheim. King William I was commander-in-chief, with the great strategist General von Moltke chief of the general staff.

France found herself practically unprepared, her military departments in confusion, her fortresses

weakly garrisoned and ill-provisioned. Of the 350,000 troops of the line and the 100,000 "gardes mobiles," which the regulations called for on paper, only 220,000 men and these not even fully equipped were sent to the front as eight army corps. A reserve army of 300,000 was in course of formation. Napoleon was commander-in-chief, Marshal Leboeuf chief of the general staff, Marshal MacMahon stood at Strassburg, Marshal Bazaine at Metz.

On August 4, the Crown Prince, coming from Landau and Germersheim, crossed the frontier. At Weissenburg he encountered MacMahon and won the first engagement of the war. At Wörth MacMahon with 45,000 men made a gallant stand against the Crown Prince's 130,000, but was forced to fall back upon Chalons. On the day of the battle of Wörth the French were also defeated at Spichern near Saarbrücken. The other German army also advanced, and the three armies rapidly carried the war into French territory.

At Metz (Aug. 14–Aug, 18).—After the battle of Wörth Napoleon invested Bazaine with chief command. His strategy intended that the remnants of MacMahon's forces effect a juncture with the new army forming in the strongly entrenched camp of Chalons. To thwart this, the Germans fought the next three battles in the neighborhood of Metz, at Neuilly, Vionville, and Gravelotte. At Gravelotte,

King William, at the head of his 200,000 men with 822 cannon, won a decisive victory over 150,000 French supported by 550 cannon. For eight hours the fighting lasted, and 13,000 French and 19,000 Germans fell in the bloody encounter. These battles cut the French forces in two and enabled the Germans to surround the main army in and about Metz. This fortress had not sufficient provisions for so great an army and was soon in dire straits.

Crown Prince Frederick William and a newly formed army under the Crown Prince of Saxony, advanced against MacMahon at Chalons. The latter suddenly swerved northward, desperately attempting to reach Metz. Intelligence of this design allowed the King to anticipate and meet the condition by deflecting his armies in the same direction. By forced marches he succeeded in occupying and holding the road to Metz against MacMahon and also in cutting off his retreat to Paris. In the rear of the French army lay Belgium. Thus hemmed in, MacMahon concentrated his forces at *Sedan*. Napoleon III accompanied him. Not sensing the nearness of the enemy, they encamped in a valley surrounded by hills; a veritable death trap it proved to be for the 140,000 French. The Germans, numbering 250,000 men, approached on all sides and planted their batteries upon all the surrounding hills without arousing any apprehensions in the hearts of

the French. The battle turned into a bloody massacre by the German artillery. Thrice on that fatal day (Sept. 1) the heroic but unavailing brave French army changed its commander. Early in the morning MacMahon had been wounded and yielded his command to Ducrot. Wimpffen succeeded Ducrot, and when French resistance was exhausted, at three o'clock, Napoleon himself ordered the white flag to be hoisted and handed his sword to William I.

The following morning Napoleon drove over into the German lines. The surrender of the French army was signed by Moltke and Wimpffen. In a personal interview with Napoleon, William I assigned Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel as a residence for the captive Emperor. Of the French army 84,000 men were marched off into Germany as prisoners of war; about 10,000 men who had crossed the frontier were disarmed in Belgium. The German armies not needed for the siege of Metz converged towards Paris. Henceforth the German military operations had the object of frustrating all attempts to raise the siege of Paris, whilst the objective of all French army operations outside of Metz was the raising of the siege of Paris.

After Napoleon had been taken prisoner of war, the Chamber of Deputies overthrew the Empire and proclaimed the *Third Republic*. The *investment of Paris* was completed on September 19. After a

futile attempt to obtain peace without territorial sacrifice, the new government established a delegation or branch government at Tours. With indefatigable energy the delegation undertook to organize two provincial armies, the army of the Loire and the army of the North. The Germans continued to press the French armies wherever found. Toul and Strassburg fell in September, Orleans and other cities in October. But each of these disasters, and all together, palled before the decisive catastrophe, the fall of Metz, where provisions had given out on October 21. Six days later Marshal Bazaine surrendered the town and its forts, 1,300 guns and all the stores of war supplies, 173,000 French soldiers were made prisoners of war, while 3,000 officers were liberated on parole and 20,000 sick remained in the conquered town.

The *fall of Metz* released 200,000 Germans for operations directed against the untried armies levied in the provinces. These French armies, drawn together to relieve Paris, were beaten and scattered at Amiens and St. Quentin, Orleans and Le Mans. Meanwhile the defense of Paris was carried on with heroic bravery. The besieged troops essayed to break through the lines of the besieging army many times, but each time were driven back. The Parisians tenaciously held on until at last the effect of the heavy artillery of the Germans impressed itself

on the morale of the defending soldiers and hunger raged among the civilian population and thus forced the surrender.

The terms were signed January 28, 1871. All the forts surrounding and in Paris were surrendered. The artillery on the city walls was dismounted. The troops in Paris were prisoners of war and were disarmed, save 12,000 men necessary to maintain public order. A war contribution of 200 million francs was levied on the city.

A truce afforded the time for an election and a meeting of the National Assembly, which was to decide the question of peace or war. The new Assembly met at Bordeaux and elected *Thiers* head of the Executive Department. It became his painful duty to arrange all the preliminaries of peace with the chancellor of the German Empire. The terms provided for the *cession of Alsace*, with the exception of Belfort, and German Lorraine with Metz and Thionville, in all 4,700 square miles with one and a half million inhabitants, and the payment by France of a *war indemnity* of five milliards of francs (approximately \$1,000,000,000) in three years; payment to be secured by a German occupation of French territory. The preliminaries were ratified in the definitive *Peace of Frankfort*, May 10, 1871.

XXXV

THE NEW EMPIRE

The Franco-Prussian War had at last brought political unity to the German people. Austria had been excluded from Germany, Prussia's economic superiority over the South had been established beyond question. Bismarck's statesmanship and the political and military resources of Prussia had combined to bring about at last the realization of the New German Empire, which had been the dream of generations of German patriots.

The initiative was taken by the Crown Prince Frederick. After the battle of Wörth he advised the Kings of Southern Germany that a sufficient force was in the field "to coerce those who might resist the proposal of a German Empire." The next step was an agreement at Versailles by which the four Southern States of Germany formally joined the North German Confederacy. Thereupon Prince Bismarck asked the King of Bavaria to propose a revival of the imperial title to the rest of the German princes, with a hint that in his default others might be found to advance the proposal; the Diet,

too, would be willing to put the motion. The King of Bavaria, in his letter of November 30, to King William at Versailles, expressed his confidence, that the President of the German Confederacy in his new dignity would exercise his rights in the name of the whole German Union and its princes, and formally proposed that the President of the Confederacy should assume the title of German Emperor. After all the sovereign States and the three free cities had signified their approval, the title of *German Emperor* was conferred on William I and his successors in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles, January 18, 1871.

The New German Empire has no legal connection with the old Roman Empire of the German Nation. Hence the time from 1806–1871 was not an interregnum. The Empire is merely a continuation of the North German Confederacy extended, under a new name, to the Southern States. The Constitution of the Empire is essentially that of the Confederacy adopted in 1867 and confers no power on the Emperor which he had not already as President of the Confederation. William I, in his unassuming way, repeatedly declared that he had no other wish than to be the commander-in-chief of the Confederation and “*primus inter pares*,” the first among equals.

But the foreign and internal policies of the new

Empire were fraught with difficult problems. As to the former, the signal and rapid rise of the Empire was not at all welcomed by several of the other Powers, and it was, therefore, Bismarck's great aim to protect the new state by alliances. The first attempt in this direction was seen in the "*Dreikaiserbündnis*" with Austria-Hungary and Russia (1872-1877). Later on, when, as a result of the Russo-Turkish War, in spite of Bismarck's endeavors to play the part of the "honest broker" at the Congress of Berlin (1878), this *entente* was shaken, the bonds between Austria-Hungary and Germany were drawn tighter, and in the following year Bismarck brought about an alliance with Austria-Hungary, which, when joined by Italy in 1883, became the *Triple-Alliance*, the league of the three great powers of Central Europe.

After Bismarck had strengthened Germany's position on the Continent, the Empire could safely embark on its colonial policy. In 1884, Southwest Africa, Kamerun, and Togo were occupied, in the following two years German East Africa, a part of New Guinea and of the adjacent islands in the Pacific. Thus the transition of Germany to a colonial policy became an accomplished fact.

During the same period the decided preponderance of Germany on the Continent, resulting from the Franco-Prussian War, was greatly increased

The Emperor personally supervised the military training of his troops in every detail. Yearly it was his aim to review his troops at the imperial maneuvers to satisfy himself about the efficiency and preparedness of his army. A strong navy was begun to be built. Kiel and Wilhelmshaven were turned into gigantic naval bases, and the building of the Baltic Canal, which joins the Bay of Kiel with the Elbe River, was begun. The population, which in 1871 was about forty-one millions, in 1910 amounted to over sixty-five millions. The wealth of the country arising from commerce and industry increased even more astoundingly.

The home policy during the first years of the Empire was on the whole determined by the constellation of parties within the House of Representatives (*Reichstag*). The leading parties of that period were: the Conservatives, the Free Conservatives, the National Liberals, the Centre, and the Party of Progress (*Fortschrittspartei*). Gradually these political parties, all of which had been organized before 1871, began to adapt themselves to new conditions, but their development was seriously hampered by Bismarck's attempt to break up the Centre Party, which he considered dangerous to the future welfare of the Empire. This great conflict, called "*Kulturkampf*," came to a close in 1887. It will be treated more fully in the following chapter.

In 1878, after the attempts made by Hödel and Nobiling on the life of William I, Bismarck determined to open the attack on Social Democracy. The *Socialist Law* was passed, prohibiting and heavily penalizing the organizations, societies, meetings, and press of Social Democracy. The tangible result of these measures of repression were to impel the Socialists to renewed secret activity throughout the whole Empire.

In the following year Bismarck inaugurated his greatest achievement in domestic politics. To further the interests of agriculture and industry, the two most extensive branches of production in the Empire, small protective duties were imposed upon agricultural and industrial imports. In 1881 a message from the Throne announced the inauguration of a *policy of social reform* in favor of the working classes by a series of great constructive measures. Before the end of 1889, compulsory insurance of working men against sickness, accident, disability, and old age was provided for by legislation. During all this time, the Centre more than any other party directed its attention to social welfare in the Empire and to the school question in the individual states. It became the leading party in the Reichstag.

William I, who died on March 9, 1888, was succeeded by his only son, Frederick William, who as-

sumed the title of *Emperor Frederick III*. Unfortunately, this splendid monarch's rule lasted only 99 days; a treacherous throat disease caused his premature death, on June 15, 1888.

XXXVI

THE KULTURKAMPF

The Franco-German War had hardly terminated, when Prince Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor," inaugurated a religious persecution. After he had defeated the Catholic states of Germany and Austria, humiliated France, and founded the New German Empire, he measured his strength against the Catholic Church. Blinded by success, he emulated the first Napoleon. Filled with the principles of Prussian absolutism and brought up in the traditional Protestant misconceptions regarding the Catholic Church, he saw in her the enemy of national development. He aimed at the nationalization of the Catholic Church and her subjugation to the State.

Then began what is called the "Kulturkampf," that is the Conflict of Culture. It was such indeed, but in a sense different from that which was implied by its originators. It was a conflict between two cultures, not, as they said, between German and Latin, but between Catholic and anti-Catholic; nay more, as the Protestants themselves later realized, a conflict between Christian and anti-Christian cul-

ture, the world-old struggle between religion and infidelity.

The famous laws were enacted which go by the name of *May Laws*, because passed in the month of May of successive years. First the *Jesuits* and the orders allied with them, as the law said, among them the Redemptorists, were banished from the Empire, later on the other religious orders. Finally, violent attacks were made on the rights of bishops and secular clergy. All ecclesiastical penalties were forbidden, the education of the clergy and the appointment to ecclesiastical positions were to be controlled by the government; priests were allowed to appeal from the regulations of their bishops to a special government court, whose decision should be final. A bishop who, after the beginning of the conflict, exercised any of his functions, from ordaining a priest to consecrating the holy oils outside of his diocese, or failed to propose a candidate for a vacant post within an appointed time; a priest in possession of a benefice before the beginning of the conflict who said mass, administered the sacraments of baptism or penance, or carried the consolations of holy religion to the sick and dying outside of his district, or a priest performing any sacerdotal function without State permission, was first fined for every single case, then deprived of his income, finally imprisoned or exiled either from a specified district

or from the Empire. Under the operation of these laws all the bishops, save three, and 1,770 priests were, up to the year 1880, imprisoned, exiled, or dead, without being replaced; 9,000 religious, 7,763 of them women, were driven from their peaceful homes into misery and destitution after the expulsion of the Jesuits and affiliated orders; 601 parishes, comprising about 650,000 souls, were entirely destitute of spiritual care, while 584 other parishes with over 1,500,000 souls were inadequately served.

These were flagrant violations of the sacred liberties of the Church, infringements upon the fundamental laws of the Prussian Constitution. To remove this objection, and to clear the ground for still more drastic legislation, Articles 15, 16, and 18, which guaranteed the rights of the Catholic Church, were first altered, and later in the conflict, simply annulled. The bishops all strenuously resisted the intolerable arrogance of the government. Catholics, sneeringly but justly, said that Bismarck wanted to play the Pope, and it was his desire that Catholics learn their theology from his professors. Several bishops were sent to prison, the Archbishop of Cologne for six months. Every new measure of religious tyranny was met by the protests of the clergy, jointly or individually, and by the passive but effective condemnation of the laity. Under the magnificent leadership of Mallinckrodt, Windthorst,

Schorlemer-Alst, the Reichenspergers, etc., and their worthy successors, the *Centre Party*, with increased representation in the Reichstag, won in succeeding elections, finally obtained the balance of power, and by its fearless enunciation of clearly-defined principles of law and truth and by its wonderful cohesion on all questions of religion, became and still is the admiration of the world and the champion defender of the Church in Germany. In this noble struggle Pius IX never ceased to encourage the German Catholics by his apostolic word.

The government was doomed to disappointment. The loyalty of the German Catholics to the Church and the Holy See remained unshaken. The number of clergymen submitting to the May Laws was a bare twenty — out of a total of over 4,000 — in the whole Kingdom of Prussia, and they were shunned by Catholics as traitors, and ostracized. In the dioceses deprived of their pastors, the episcopal power was exercised by delegates unknown to the public but promptly obeyed by the Catholic people. The Bishop of Paderborn personally administered his diocese from Belgium. In the archdiocese of Posen and Gnesen an association of young priests secretly discharged their pastoral duties in the vacant parishes. Espionage and priest-hunting availed little and soon fell into universal contempt. The fruits of the Kulturkampf began

to ripen. Under the new education laws morality perceptibly decreased. The Emperor, half-hearted in the contest from the beginning, became alarmed at the dangers threatening the country, and openly proclaimed the necessity of religion and Christian education for his people. Bismarck himself reluctantly acknowledged his cause defeated by the unflinching loyalty of the German Catholics. He noticed with dismay the increase of Socialism which spread in a disquieting manner in Protestant districts. Finally, after the death of Pope Pius IX he began negotiations with Leo XIII, and gradually, one after another, the iniquitous laws were amended or repealed. Bismarck, in the height of the struggle, had proudly and defiantly declared: "We shall not go to Canossa," as Henry IV had done to seek reconciliation with the Pope. Under the circumstances he prudently thought it expedient to submit, and he "went to Canossa." Furthermore, he needed the Catholics against the Liberals in his new policy of protection. He needed the Pope himself whom he had persecuted so long, to aid him in both the internal and external difficulties of his administration. In 1878, the "Iron Chancellor" opened negotiations with Leo XIII. In the following year he dropped the ultra-liberal Dr. Falk, for many years minister of public worship and a bitter enemy of the Catholic Church, and his

policy. The satisfactory way in which Leo XIII mediated between Germany and Spain in a dispute about the possession of the Caroline Islands — recognizing Spain's right to the islands whilst securing valuable commercial concessions to Germany, 1885 — greatly improved the relations between Rome and Berlin. All hostile legislation ceased. Concessions were made on both sides. One by one the usurped powers over the Catholic Church were given up by the Prussian government. After 1887, State interference in the administration of the Church and in the education for the priesthood, was, to a great part, abandoned.

XXXVII

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS UNDER WILLIAM II

William II, who after the death of his father, Frederick III, ascended the throne, June 15, 1888, spoke at the opening of the Prussian Parliament for religious toleration and the termination of the *Kulturkampf* and pledged himself to maintain religious peace in the countries under his rule. Wishing to make Germany as speedily as possible a sharer in the world's commerce, he realized that to attain this end internal tranquillity was as necessary as external peace.

In order to manifest to the world his love for peace, the young Emperor, soon after his ascension, personally paid his respects to most of the sovereigns of Europe. Old friendly relations were strengthened, new ones established. Everywhere he was received most splendidly and cordially.

Notwithstanding his love for peace, the Emperor has always been bent on protecting Germany against a possible hostile attack and continuously increasing and strengthening the army and navy.

Especially he had at heart the economic welfare

of his people. In the care for the working class he has progressed along the lines marked out by his immediate predecessors. He saw to it that the all but unanimous desire of the Reichstag to complete the compulsory insurance legislation by comprehensive factory legislation was satisfied.

On March 18, 1890, he dismissed Bismarck, who for nearly a generation had exercised the greatest power. The first chancellor of the new Empire was replaced by Count Caprivi. July 1st of the same year, the imperial Government made a treaty with Great Britain, by which the island of Heligoland was ceded to Germany, in return for considerable advantages in respect to boundary lines in East Africa. The clear-headed ruler evidently foresaw the great strategic importance of Heligoland, lying before the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, in the event of war. The island now belongs to the province of Schleswig-Holstein. The German Government, in 1897, leased from China for a term of 99 years *Kiautschou Bay* with the Hinterland belonging to it. In 1899, Germany purchased from Spain the Caroline and Marian Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The German transatlantic merchant marine held for many years the record for the race across the Atlantic, and even in Africa and Asia, Germany promised to become a very serious rival of England.

The period since the beginning of William II's rule has been one of exceptional prosperity throughout the country. From forty-one millions in 1871, the population increased to over sixty-five millions in 1910. Of these more than sixty-five millions, about 36 per cent. are Catholic. Among the important measures passed during this period were the completion of the unified legal codes and the Naval Acts, aimed at raising Germany to a maritime power of the first rank. In the midst of this era of prosperity Bismarck died (1898).

The alliance with Austria, which had continued from 1872, was enlarged into the Triple Alliance, in 1883. By his efforts to separate Austria and Italy from the Triple Alliance and by his *ententes* with the other Powers of Europe, Edward VII of England, jealous of Germany's wonderful commercial growth, isolated his rival (1907, Triple-Entente between England, Russia, and France). Gradually the English nation had begun to accustom itself to the idea of a German peril, and finally to join the ranks of those opposed to Germany. The Empire's prestige, however, was greatly enhanced (1908-1909) by the re-establishment of German influence in international politics, owing to its firm support of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan crisis. It put an end to the isolation of Germany and strength-

ened the bonds of the Triple Alliance. In 1913, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne, Emperor William II was universally praised as a *Prince of Peace*.

APPENDIX

I

CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The German Empire forms a federal state with strong centralization of authority, the component states having surrendered many of their rights and prerogatives. In all essentials the constitution of the German Empire is that of the North German Confederation of 1867.

The German Empire consists of:

1. Four Kingdoms, *viz.*, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg;

2. Six grand-duchies: Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, Hessen-Darmstadt, Baden;

3. Five duchies: Braunschweig, Anhalt, Sachsen-Meiningen, Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha, Sachsen-Altenburg;

4. Seven principalities: Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe-Detmold, Waldeck, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Reuss Younger Line, and Reuss Elder Line;

5. Three free imperial cities: Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck;

6. One free imperial territory ("*Reichsland*"), Alsace-Lorraine.

The head of this federal state is the Emperor; the King of Prussia being entitled to the imperial dignity and exercising the imperial power in the name of the confederated states. The Emperor is the highest executive; he represents the Empire in foreign affairs and can declare a defensive war, and make peace as well as enter into treaties with other nations; appointing ambassadors and ministers and receiving the accredited representatives of other nations. To declare offensive war, the consent of the federal council (*Bundesrath*) is a prerequisite.

The legislative functions of the Empire are vested in the *Bundesrath* and the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). The members of the *Bundesrath*, 58 in number, are nominated for each session by the governments of the individual states. Of these 58, Prussia appoints seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Württemberg four each, Baden and Hesse three each, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick two each, and the remaining seventeen states of the Empire one member each. The members of the *Reichstag*, 397 in number, are elected for a space of five years on the basis of an absolutely democratic, equal and universal suffrage. Every German citi-

zen who has completed his twenty-fifth year and is of unblemished character, is entitled to vote. Active army and navy men may not exercise the right of suffrage. Legislative activity in the *Reichstag* is limited to military and naval affairs, rights of domicile and freedom to emigrate, postal and telegraph lines, coinage of money, weights and measures, commerce, internal revenues and protective tariffs.

Every bill passed by the *Reichstag* requires a majority vote in the *Bundesrath*. After passing the *Bundesrath*, the sanction of the Emperor is necessary, and before it becomes a law it must be countersigned and promulgated by the chancellor of the Empire (*Reichskanzler*).

The *Reichskanzler* — at the present writing Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg — is appointed by the *Kaiser* and is the chief ministerial official of the Empire. He is the president of the *Bundesrath*, the intermediary between the *Kaiser*, the *Bundesrath*, and the *Reichstag*, and supervises the execution of the imperial laws. He is the sole responsible official of the Empire.

Subordinated to the *Reichskanzler* are the following imperial departments:

- (a) *Auswärtiges Amt* — Foreign Department,
- (b) *Reichsamt des Innern* — Imperial Department of the Interior,

(c) *Reichsmarineamt* — Imperial Admiralty,

(d) *Reichsjustizamt* — Imperial Department of Justice,

(e) *Reichsschatzamt* — Imperial Treasury Department,

(f) *Reichseisenbahnamt* — Imperial Department of Railways and

(g) *Reichspostamt* — Imperial Department of Postmaster General;

besides the imperial colonial department, the imperial bank, and a few other departments. At the head of each department is a secretary, who acts as the representative of the *Reichskanzler* and directs the affairs of the department. He is always under the control of the chancery of the Empire, thus bringing all departments in unison, the duties of each department well defined and never overlapping.

II

THE GERMAN MILITARY SYSTEM

The Army.—The inception of the imperial army may be traced to the reforms that followed the battle of Jena. Germany was under the heel of Napoleon, Prussia compelled to reduce its army to 42,000 men. The latter employed the time of her weakness and humiliation to reform her administration and army. Scharnhorst quietly reorganized the army ^{not} on the basis of universal military service without increasing the active strength of the army beyond the number allowed by Napoleon. For as soon as a quota of recruits were sufficiently drilled, they were quietly sent home and replaced by another, which in turn had their places taken by others, until, within a short space of time, Prussia had an army of more than 200,000 trained soldiers which later proved the undoing of Napoleon. *Yes but not*

Scharnhorst's system was further elaborated and built up, the final principle of rapid mobilization being due to von Moltke. The German loves the army and is proud of his military organization, because it is efficient, because it makes a man both in

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body and spirit out of the humblest citizen, because it is the very backbone of German progress.

Every male German is subject to enforced military service, and no substitution is allowed in the performance of this duty. Liability begins at the age of seventeen, and actual service, as a rule, at the age of twenty. The size of the army in time of peace, the "*Friedens-Präsenzstärke*," is fixed by imperial legislation. Before the outbreak of the present war the number of privates in the ranks amounted to about 700,000; to these add about 80,000 non-commissioned officers, 24,000 officers, 9,000 one-year volunteers, and a great many physicians, officers steadily employed in the army hospitals, commissaries, etc. The total fighting strength has been placed at as high a figure as thirteen millions.

An infantry regiment consists of three battalions, supported by five squadrons of cavalry, with two or three battalions of light artillery. Two or three regiments form a brigade, two or three brigades of infantry and cavalry with additional heavy field artillery constitute a division. Two to three divisions with the necessary contingents of foot artillery, pioneers, and "train"-soldiers form an army corps. There are, in all, 23 army corps in time of peace.

Upon enlistment the private serves two years.

70 000 TRAINED SOLDIERS WERE ON
MINOR PART OF HER FORCES AND NOT
THE MOST USEFUL PART BY ANY
MEANS /

(three in the case of cavalry and horse artillery recruits) with the colors. If at the end of his time he chooses to leave the army, he is assigned to the reserve (*Ersatz*), until he is 32 years of age. During this time he is liable for maneuver service on three different occasions, varying from two to eight weeks each (in practice usually six). After quitting the reserve the soldier becomes a member of the national guard (*Landwehr*, from 32 to 39), during which time he is liable for service at one maneuver of two weeks. Except in case of war this ends his active connection with the army. That portion of the annual classes which is dismissed untrained, first goes to the *Ersatz* without arms; from 32 to 39 to the second *Landwehr*. These able-bodied supernumeraries are not liable for service except in case of war, and then must be trained.

From 39 to 45 the man who has served with the colors is assigned to the national defence (*Landsturm*). There is also a second ban of *Landsturm* of the untrained, to which may be drafted young men from 17 to 20. However, they are unlikely ever to come into action, and even if they should, it would be only for service in guarding property, railroad lines and the like. They may attend also to the harvesting of crops, and similar duties.

The officers are recruited either from the Cadet Corps or from amongst those men, of sufficient so-

cial standing, who join the ranks as "*avantageurs*" with a view of obtaining commissions. Reserve and Landwehr officers are drawn principally from the one year volunteers, mostly college graduates, who show the requisite ability and are recommended by the higher officers.

This system of reserve officers provides the German army with a very large number of highly trained men competent and qualified to serve as regular army officers in case of war.

The Navy.—The German navy is of recent origin. Up to the accession of Emperor William II the increase in the navy was slow. But towards the end of the last century Germany started on a new naval policy, by which her fleet was largely and rapidly increased.

The number of warships is about 80 at the present time, besides a great many torpedo boats, destroyers, and submarines of great efficiency, with an active naval personnel of over 30,000. In addition there is a reserve of more than 100,000 officers and men. In 1889 the administration was transferred from the ministry of war to the imperial admiralty (*Reichsmarineamt*), at the head of which is the naval secretary of state.

III

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Germany has become a type for social legislation. Even before 1870, big industries and corporations had laid bare the need of social reform work for the benefit of the hard pressed and economically dependent workmen. Little protection was then given to the working men, and restrictions on the employment of women and children were inadequate, as there was no efficient system of factory inspection. It was difficult for the workmen by their own exertions to ameliorate their conditions, for the employers had full liberty of association, which the law denied the workmen. *Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler*, Bishop of Mayence, justly called the pioneer of social reform, was the first to point his finger at the great social problems. Being chiefly concerned for the preservation of family life, which was threatened by the growth of the factory system and by the teaching of the Social Democrats, the Bishop maintained that it was the duty of the State to secure working men work and provision during sickness and old age. The general interest of the Church in the social question was recognized by a

congress of the German bishops at Fulda. Keteler's work was continued by other great men. Members of the Centre Party brought forward motions in the Reichstag demanding new social legislation. In 1877, the "Galen" bill, introduced on behalf of the Centre Party by Count von Galen, a distinguished Westphalian representative in the *Reichstag*, was the first step along the road of social legislation in the German Empire. It is no exaggeration to say that all that has been achieved in the field of promoting the welfare of workmen by legislation, was principally due to the activity of the Centre Party and secured the necessary vote only through the cooperation of its members.

Circumscribing the individual liberties? for the sake of the public welfare, but especially the protection and social betterment of the working man and the middle class, has been the norm of social legislation since the beginning of the eighties. The imperial message of Nov. 17, 1881, developed the program of a threefold obligatory insurance, *viz.*, insurance of workmen against accident, the establishment of sick-funds, and insurance against all age and incapacity to earn a livelihood.

In 1883, the Law regulating insurance against illness was enacted, in 1884 that of insurance against accident, and in 1889 the Law concerning insurance against old age and incapacity. The system was

further modified by acts passed in 1900 and 1903.

Here are the most important facts concerning German social legislation:

I. Insurance Against Illness

(a) Scope: The insurance against illness provides an income for workmen incapacitated for work through sickness.

(b) Members: Every wage worker is obliged to take out this insurance and must join one of the various sick-funds.

(c) Assessments to the sick-fund amount to about three per cent. of the wages. The workmen contribute at the rate of two-thirds, the employers at the rate of one-third.

(d) Benefits: In case of illness the insured, as a rule, receives free medical treatment and medicine, and in case of inability to earn a livelihood, from the fourth day after being taken ill, at least half of his daily wages as sick benefit money. At his death, his next of kin generally receive an amount equal to twenty days' wages. The sick funds annually pay out more than one hundred million marks as sick benefit moneys.

II. Accident Insurance

(a) Scope: Accident insurance makes provisions for workmen in hazardous industries who may

be injured at work and when fatal the next of kin receive compensation. The sick-funds, as a rule, do not assist the sick workman for more than 26 weeks. But often the workman has not completely recovered within that time; he may not be able to work again. In these cases the accident insurance is to protect the workman and his family against need and misery.

(b) Members: Those workmen who are employed in extra hazardous industries, *e.g.*, building construction, mining, factories, foundries, railroad and shipping.

(c) Assessments to the expenses of accident insurance are made exclusively by the employers.

(d) Benefits: A workman that is injured while at his work, receives, beginning with the fourteenth week, free medical treatment including medicine, and an annuity. For injuries involving total incapacity to earn anything, the compensation is fixed at the ratio of two-thirds of his last earnings. When the income is diminished by reason of such injuries, an amount sufficient to make the earning equal two-thirds of the former wages is paid as insurance.

Should death result as a consequence of such injuries, the following payments are made: (1) the twenty fold of the fixed daily earnings to defray the expenses of interment, (2) an annuity amounting to

one-fifth of the last year's earnings, for the parents and grandparents of the deceased, if the latter was their only support; the same amount annually for the widow of the injured, as long as she remains unmarried, and three-twentieths of the earnings for each of the children up to the age of fifteen. However, the annuity of widow and children must not exceed three-fifths of the annual earnings.

III. Insurance Against Invalidity

(a) Scope: This law provides for the invalids and for the aged workers. Workmen incapacitated by accident do not come in this class. Nor are those workmen entitled to the benefits of this system of insurance who have contracted their incapacity wilfully or intentionally either in the act of committing a crime or by stubbornly not obeying the doctor's orders, for these protective laws for the amelioration of social conditions are aimed at helping those workers overtaken by want through no fault of their own.

(b) Members: Insurance against old age and invalidity comprehends all persons who have entered upon their seventeenth year, and are not earning more than two thousand marks annually.

(c) Assessments: These are regulated in proportion to the amount of the annual earnings. There are five grades:

1. Grade under 350 marks; weekly assessments 14 pfennige.

2. Grade 350-550 marks; weekly assessments 20 pfennige.

3. Grade 550-850 marks; weekly assessments 24 pfennige.

4. Grade 850-1150 marks; weekly assessments 30 pfennige.

5. Grade 1150 and over; weekly assessments 36 pfennige.

(d) Benefits: Every member incapacitated from earning his livelihood receives a fixed sum, called "Invalidenrente," annually. Whoever is not able to earn as much as one-third of his former wages is included. The amount of the pension is determined by the amount of assessments paid and the length of the insurance.

Every workman having reached the age of 70 and still capable of earning a livelihood receives an old age pension, no matter whether he continues working and earning or not.

(e) Refunding of Assessments: When the obligation to insure oneself no longer obtains, the insured receives back one-half of all the paid in assessments, provided at least 200 weeks have been paid in. The employer does not receive any refunds.

The above short outline is all in practical working

order, but the body of laws being that of a living people is continually being added to and modified by each succeeding Reichstag. Professor Burgess¹ has summarized the result of German achievement in the field of social service as follows:

"Its [Germany's] economic system is by far the most efficient, most genuinely democratic which exists at the present moment in the world, or has ever existed. There is no great state in the world to-day in which there is so general and even a distribution of the fruits of civilization, spiritual and material, among all the people as in the United States of Germany. And there is no state, great or small, in which the general plane of civilization is so high. Education is universal and illiteracy is completely stamped out; there are no slums, no proletariat, and no pauperism; prosperity is universal; and the sense of duty is the governing principle of life, public and private, from the highest to the lowest. The institutions of the country are adapted and adjusted to bring each individual person into the place and sphere for which he or she is best capacitated, thus avoiding loss by the abrasions of economic friction."

¹ *The European War of 1914: Its Causes, Purposes and Probable Results*, by Dr. John W. Burgess, formerly Professor of Constitutional and International Law and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Philosophy and Pure Science in Columbia University. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1915.)

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